Fall 2006

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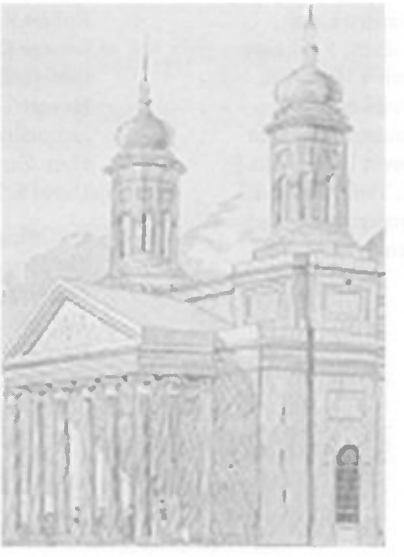

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Historical Magazine

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CONTENTS

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to panderson@mdhs.org. The guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

Editor's Notebook

The Golden Age of Publishing

Three of the four authors featured in this issue, Tracy Mathew Melton, Wallace Shugg, and Timothy R. Snyder, are historians whose books Robert I. Cottom (Ric) published, or planned to publish, as director of the Press at the Maryland Historical Society. Serendipitously, we had this issue planned and the articles almost edited prior to July 20th, the day that dire financial circumstances forced the society's executive committee to execute a massive institutional restructuring that dismantled this press and abruptly suspended book publishing. Ric, whose talents defined this magazine for almost a score of years, is among the dozen casualties of the reorganization, laid off in an effort to balance the budget. We also lost Joyce Wouters, our spunky part-time marketer who brought us savvy marketing skills, a dash of irreverence, and a wicked sense of humor. Through her efforts, book sales doubled and Melton's *Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860* (2005) received honorable mention in *Foreword Magazine*'s Book of the Year Awards in history. Unfortunately, Snyder's history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company's struggle to survive the Civil War sits in its box, awaiting return to its creator, as do an additional half-dozen local histories orphaned in the restructuring—their future and that of MdHS publishing, uncertain.

Ric, as one of that graying Hopkins Triumvirate of Maryland's historians, has greatly influenced the study of state history for nearly a generation.* He came to the MdHS in the early 1980s, working with Bob Brugger during his tenure as editor of this journal and on *Maryland, A Middle Temperament.* In 1994, retired California publisher and incoming editor Ernest Scott recognized the range of Ric's abilities and appointed him associate editor. And, with an outsider's knack for seeing the obvious, Ernest rightly noted that the society should have its own press, a division equal in stature and importance to the library, the museum, and education, committed to publishing the finest new work in local history. In early 1997, Ric took over the editorship of this journal and the directorship of the Press at the Maryland Historical Society.

Under his not-so-even-tempered leadership, we honored the society's founding mission—to publish and preserve state history—and added twenty-two titles, pushing the number of Maryland Historical Society books in the Library of Congress catalog over one hundred. Somewhere, in the shadows of the past, the founders smiled approvingly. With former editor Donna Shear, photographer David Prencipe, assistants Ruth Mitchell and Kay Scott, and the unfailing support of the publications committee, Ric forged the society's golden age of publishing, one that coupled professional camaraderie with impeccable scholarship, craftsmanship, and an almost compulsive attention to detail. He searched, and often found, the drama and

human interest in history, convincing us that a journalist's gene lurks in his Welsh ancestry. And just as determinedly, he kept this press running, despite unexpected shifts in institutional support and a shrinking budget, until that hot July morning when an era of remarkable achievement ended. Fortunately, in the pages of this issue, Maryland history gains once more from the dedicated efforts of our authors and the quiet yet dazzling contributions of their editor and publisher, Robert I. Cottom.

P.D.A.

*Robert J. Brugger, author of *Maryland a Middle Temperament* and JHU Press history editor, and Edward C. Papenfuse, State Archivist and Commissioner of Land Patents, complete this trio.

In Memoriam

It was with great sadness that I learned of the sudden death of Hally Brent Dame (1913–2006). We have lost yet another vibrant, enthusiastic promoter of Maryland history. Hally's association with the historical society spanned five decades during which she delighted in presenting her signature slide lecture on the life of Besty Bonaparte. In the mid-1990s, she devised a talk on the Great Houses of Baltimore, using old photographs, maps, illustrations, and depictions on Baltimore painted furniture. The energetic nonagenarian performed her lectures throughout the state and then contributed her honoraria toward funding the society's educational mission. Hally now joins the roll of those other dedicated, recently deceased MdHS volunteers—Denwood Kelly, Byrne Waterman, Isabella Athey, George Gammie, Robbie Gupta, to name a few—who gave much of their time and talent to preserve and promote aspects of this state's heritage. She was, indeed, the "Grand Dame" of Maryland history and we will miss her.

Robert W. Schoeberlein
Maryland State Archives, former MdHS Prints and Photographs curator

Cover

Centenary Celebration of Baltimore's Basilica, 1906

Bishops from around the country came to participate in the principal celebration to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Bishop John Carroll's laying of the cornerstone of the country's first Catholic cathedral. The Basilica of the National Shrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary has recently been restored to its original neoclassical 1805 design and will be rededicated in a ceremony scheduled for November 4, 2006. (Photo courtesy St. Mary's Seminary Archives.)

Tricia T. Pyne
St. Mary's Seminary Archives


A New and
ACCURATE MAP
of VIRGINIA &
MARYLAND
Laid Down
from Surveys and
Regulated by
Astron¹ Observat.
By Eman. Bowen
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BALTIMORE
COUNTY
ANNAPOLIS
CECIL
COUNTY
TALBOT
COUNTY
KENT
THE GREAT BAY OF CHESEPEAKE
SUSSEX C.
DELAWAR BAY
MARY LAND
DORCHESTER C.
CHARLES C.
ST. MARY C.
Patowmack R.
Westmorland C.
RAPPAHAOC C.
ESSEX
VIRGINIA
NORTHUMBERLAND C.
LANCASTER C.
MIDDLESEX
GLOCESTER C.
KENT C.
NEW KENT
ACCOMAC C.
NORTHAMPTON C.
SURRY C.
I. OF WIGHT C.
NANTEMOND C.
C. Henry
C. Charles

A Passage in Established Religion: Dundee Chapel of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot County, Maryland

K. MATTHEW KINNAMONT

In the late spring of 1789, Major Richard Tilghman and Talbot County justice John Bracco bargained with fellow St. Michael's Parish vestry member Charles Gardiner, selling to him the "remains of Dundee Chappel." The old chapel, "now in a ruinous state," had been vacated ten years earlier, concluding over a half-century's service to the residents of Miles River Neck. If any man in the area could manage to coax profit from the remains of its dilapidated frame, it was Charles Gardiner. Then in his early fifties, he understood the value of each piece of rusty hardware, interior woodwork, and aged plank on the old chapel property.[1]

It is not surprising that Gardiner chose to take up the old chapel property. He apparently resided on the adjoining tract of "Pattingham," and the parish owed him his salary as register—perhaps the chapel represented a payment in kind. The circumstances of this transaction remain unclear, but as the vestrymen transferred ownership of the sagging hulk, he became irrevocably involved in a process started decades earlier. The passing of seasons, the day-to-day wear and tear, and the revolutionary political and religious currents of the 1770s have done their job well. Today, no trace of the chapel can be seen on the land where it once stood. Evidence of its existence, however, is found in the vestry proceedings of St. Michael's Parish, the Lloyd family papers, and Talbot land, court, and probate records. The members of this congregation, among the most interesting and influential Talbot

[1] A longtime resident of this "neck" on the northwest side of the St. Michael's River (now called the Miles River), Gardiner appears to have started his professional life as a storekeeper with the Glasgow mercantile firm of Spiers & French and Company in the mid-1760s. From 1770 to 1776 he was clerk on the plantation of local grandee Edward Lloyd IV, where one of his main duties was the feeding and clothing of Lloyd's slaves. In the midst of the Revolution, Gardiner was selected as a captain in the Talbot militia as well as register of

Left, Emanuel Bowen, A New and Accurate Map of Virginia & Maryland, *1747.*

The author, an independent historian living in Hayward, California, thanks Mary Klein, Episcopal Diocese of Maryland; Dee Andrews, CSU East Bay, California; Alice Cohee, St. Michael's, Maryland; Jean B. Russo, Annapolis; and Monique Gordy, Easton, Maryland.

Countians of their day, experienced the earliest stirrings of Anglicanism on the Eastern Shore. Moreover, a study of the church wardens who served Dundee Chapel over a span of fifty years reveals that several of these families were instrumental in the development of Methodism in Talbot and Dorchester Counties and beyond. This study corrects earlier misconceptions and offers new information on the major players—and the stage—upon which this early drama of established religion and popular evangelism in Revolutionary Maryland played out.[2]

A Chapel of Ease

Dundee Chapel had its genesis in the second of four legislative acts that brought Maryland under the sway of the Church of England. The 1696 "Act for the Service of Almighty God & the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in this Province" among other things called for the "building [of] a Chappell of Ease where requisite & wanting." Chapels of ease were instituted in areas distant from the parish church and situated so most parishioners could, with reasonable effort, attend regular divine service. The peninsula called Miles River Neck was such a place, isolated from the rest of the parish by a branch of the Miles River.[3] The timing of Dundee Chapel's construction is bound up in the peculiar set of circumstances surrounding the early settlement of Talbot County and the establishment of the Church of England in the province thirty years later. A consideration, then, of the pre-establishment religious climate of the county, together with a relation of the nascent parish of St. Michael's is in order.

The Europeans who took up lands in what in 1662 became Talbot County brought with them a variety of religious convictions. European-style houses of

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the Land Office for the Eastern Shore of the new state of Maryland. In 1785 he was appointed Justice of the Peace for Talbot County—a position he would hold until his death. Gardiner was also the long-standing register of St. Michael's vestry—all this while supervising a farmstead upon which he and his household raised corn, wheat, flax, and beans. Maryland State Archives (hereinafter cited as MSA), Vestry Minutes of St. Michael's Parish, 1731–1801 (hereinafter cited as VMSMP) 209; Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter cited as MdHS) MS2001, Lloyd Family Papers on microfilm, Roll 40, Deposition of Charles Gardiner, 23 Aug. 1793; Archives of Maryland Online (hereinafter cited as ArchMdOnline) 43: 139–40; 21: 563; 71: 13, 80–81, 163, 312; 72: 67, 169, 288, 312, 316; Prerogative Court, Inventories, 104: 167–171; Talbot Land Records (hereinafter cited as TLR) 21: 16, 225; Talbot County Inventory Book JP #D, 356–61.

[2] Anna E. Harper, *History of St. Michael's Parish* (St. Michaels, Md., 1956), 30–32, Harper tells of seeing foundation bricks of the old chapel in a cut at the roadside of a farm called "Little Dundee." Such evidence is no longer visible.

[3] ArchMdOnline, 19: 35, 398; Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Lebanon Pa., 1956), 14–54; Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692–1776* (New York & London, 1989), 8–17. While Rightmyer covers the four attempts at Anglican establishment in greater detail, van Voorst supplies a more succinct account.

worship inevitably followed. The first of these almost certainly belonged to the Quakers, who found a fertile haven in the toleration laws of Lord Baltimore's colony. Betty's Cove Meeting House was located on the opposite shore from Miles River Neck, not far from the ferry, and was in existence prior to 1672.[4] One of the earliest Catholic communities on the Eastern Shore was to be found on Miles River Neck near the mouth of the Wye River at a settlement called Doncaster Towne, built upon one of the earliest patents in the county, Henry Morgan's "Morgan St. Michaels."[5] The nearby Lloyds of Wye were already the most influential family in the neighborhood when Henrietta Maria Neale Bennett brought further wealth and political influence to her marriage with Philemon Lloyd—not to mention a devout and vocal Catholicism. It has been said that while she lived, "she threw over the Roman Catholic priests the protection of her long social standing in Maryland," and there is little doubt but that she was the chief benefactress of their chapel at Doncaster.[6]

[4] By September 1698 there were at least five Quaker meeting houses scattered across the county. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereinafter cited as *MdHM)* 53 (1958), 327; Talbot Judgments, 9/1698 Court, 248.

[5] Morgan, who was probably a Catholic, settled there in the early 1660s. His daughter Frances later married the outspoken Catholic Col. Peter Sayer and they lived on her father's lands near Doncaster. The Sayers and their Catholic neighbors eventually worshipped at a clapboard chapel built at Doncaster sometime in the mid-1670s. In 1669, merchant-planter Philemon Lloyd brought to their neighborhood his recently widowed bride and she would become the benevolent nucleus around which organized Catholocism in Talbot coalesced. Lambeth Palace Library (London, England), Fulham Papers, II, 109, a Talbot sheriff's report of Catholic and Quaker houses of worship mentions this clapboard chapel, circa 1698; H. Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens* (New York, 1953), 51, contains a tracing of a plat of Doncaster, or Wye Town, circa 1707. The Catholic chapel was located at Chapel Cove. For information on Morgan, see Papenfuse, et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols. paged consecutively; Baltimore & London, 1979–1985), II, 603, hereafter cited as *BDML*; Peter Sayer was a confidant of Charles Calvert, 3d Lord Baltimore. See ArchMdOnline, 8: 158–62. The Fulham Papers on microfilm were created for the Library of Congress in 1963. There is a 13 roll set at the Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[6] The Spanish-born Henrietta Maria was the daughter of James and Ann (Gill) Neale, close friends and envoys of Cecil Calvert. She first married Richard Bennett, son of the Virginia governor of the same name, and settled with him on a point just across the Wye River from Miles River Neck. By the time Richard Bennett drowned in the Wye in 1667, Henrietta Maria had already borne him a daughter and son. A respectable two years later, Philemon Lloyd negotiated a favorable union with the young widow, and brought her small family to Wye House on the northernmost point of Miles River Neck. The family would not remain small for long. Hailed as the "Ancestress of the Eastern Shore," Madam Lloyd would eventually be the mother of twelve—many of whom would intermarry with scions of other influential families, creating the colonial dynasties of Maryland's Golden Age.

Philemon Lloyd, principal agent of his father, the puritan councilor Edward Lloyd I, who had since returned to England, was wealthy in his own right and thus well able to aspire to political power in the young county. His marriage to such a well-connected Catholic in a time of growing anti-Catholic sentiment, however, and the family's proximity to the Catholic enclave at Doncaster, may have presented the younger Lloyd, who was eager to earn the votes of his neighbors, with a dilemma. With the intention of blunting potential anti-Catholic suspicions, he publicly witnessed the founding document of Talbot County Anglicanism.[7]

In 1671, James Clayland, "gentleman," arrived in Maryland, perhaps to blunt anti-Catholic suspicion. He soon married the daughter of William Hemsley, clerk of the county court. During this time carpenter William Young built the Old Chester Church, situated along the county road between the Wye and Chester Rivers, the first recorded Anglican church on the whole of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Early the next year, Andrew Skinner, a Yorkish tanner-turned-gentleman, "for the honor of Almighty God and for the advancement of the Gospell of his Sonne Jesus Christ," brought before the Talbot Court a deed of gift for fifty acres "towards the Maintaining of A preaching minister of the . . . Gospell according to the Reformed Church of England now Established." The land in question, "Forked Neck," sat not far from Doncaster. James Clayland served as minister and Richard Wollman and Philemon Lloyd witnessed the deed.[8]

Skinner's gift of glebe land to Clayland may or may not have been a political statement, yet it is clear from later documents that Philemon Lloyd's toleration of his wife's Catholicism went only so far. In his will, written May 27, 1682, Lloyd stipulated that his children "be brought up in the Protestant Religion, & carried to such Church or Churches where it is Profest & to noe other." As death approached

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Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County: A History* (Centerville, Md., 1985), 73–76, provides a brief and satisfactory biography of Madam Lloyd; For James Neale, see *BDML*, II, 609; Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County Maryland, 1661–1861* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1915), I, 149; Wye House in Miles River Neck remains the ancestral home of the Lloyds of Talbot.

[7] *BDML*, II, 541, Philemon Lloyd I began his political career as a burgess in 1671, a position he held until his death in 1685. He was speaker of the assembly from 1676 to 1684. He was also appointed Justice of the Talbot Court for the years 1670–1685; for Edward Lloyd I, see *BDML*, II, 534. For anti-Catholicism, see Lois G. Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca and London, 1974), 32–33. Anti-Catholicism at varying levels of intensity was an undeniable undercurrent in Maryland society and politics throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

[8] Patents, 17: 16; TLR, 3: 102; ArchMdOnline, 54: 540, 556; TLR, 2: 11; A plat showing the location of "Forked Neck" is in the property section of the Lloyd Papers, MS2001, MdHS; For Hemsley, see *BDML*, I, 430–31; Skinner arrived in Maryland around 1652 and parleyed his literacy into such positions as clerk of the Provincial Assembly (1657), clerk of the Anne Arundel County Court (1661–63), and Deputy Surveyor of the Province. By 1664 he was a resident of Talbot. See ArchMdOnline, 1: 364; 3: 424; 49: 84, 478; 68: 128.

exactly three years later, he emphasized this point in a codicil in which he directed his overseers to gently remind the strong-willed Henrietta Maria that the Protestant upbringing of his children was the only personal request and obligation placed upon her by "a Loveinge husband." It is important to note that the Rev. James Clayland was the first witness to sign each of these documents. If Henrietta Maria Lloyd threw a mantle of protection over Catholicism in the area, Philemon Lloyd certainly cast over his children one of his own approbation of Protestantism for other influential Talbot Countians to see.[9]

James Clayland functioned as a representative of the Anglican Church in Talbot for twenty years prior to the first official attempt at establishment. In that time he subsisted on the donations of well-to-do gentlemen such as Lloyd and Skinner, the agricultural returns from his plantation in Miles River Neck, and fees for services. He almost certainly served as the first rector of Chester Church, but the duties of an itinerant minister carried him on horseback from plantation to plantation.[10]

Talbot's first minister knew trouble and controversy. Soon after his marriage to the daughter of a known Catholic, he became involved in a series of dubious financial transactions that almost certainly brought a taint to his reputation, of which more later. Rev. John Lillingston's arrival by 1677, and his subsequent appearance in the Chester River region, suggest that Clayland may have soon lost the rectorship of Chester Church. In 1678, Clayland lived on a plantation on Dividing Creek in southern Talbot.[11]

England's Glorious Revolution of 1688 brought to Maryland a corresponding revolution of government that displaced the Calverts in favor of a royally appointed governor. Sir Lionel Copley arrived in the spring of 1692 and wasted little time in promoting an act for the establishment of the Church of England in the

[9] Wills, Box 15, Folder 3, Prerogative Court.

[10] In 1673, for example, he earned 1,000 pounds of tobacco for preaching John Leaven's funeral sermon, and in 1677 Clayland married a couple at the house of a certain Richard Dudley, earning himself a fee of 400 pounds of the weed. Clayland's services were available even to those outside of the Anglican fold—in 1680 he wed two impatient young Quakers, much to the consternation of the father of the bride. ArchMdOnline, 20: 450. A letter of the Maryland clergy to Bishop Compton, May 14, 1698 described the rugged pre-establishment conditions which the early few Anglican clerics endured. See Fulham Papers, II, 100–103; ArchMdOnline, 54: 573; Queen Anne's Land Records, MSA (hereinafter cited QALR) ET #A, 62; Carroll, *MdHM*, 53: 350.

[11] The construction of the nearby White Marsh Church, before 1687, in what would eventually become St. Peter's Parish, might have been an outgrowth of his post-Chester ministry. Judgments, 3/1680, Talbot County (hereinafter cited Judgments); Lillingston served St. Paul's Parish and Old Chester Church "many years before" the establishment. He was one of the signatories of the letter in the previous note. See ArchMdOnline, 27:526; Judgments, 6/1679, 6/1687 courts.

province. On May 10 of that same year the assembly passed the first "Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in this Province." The wording of the Act troubled the Court of St. James who required three additional drafts before a final act obtained royal approval in 1702, yet by October 1696 the justices of Maryland's courts had divided their counties into parishes. Talbot initially contained three: St. Paul's in the northernmost portion of the county, St. Peter's in the southeast, and St. Michael's in the central region around the St. Michael's River. Although no surviving record shows Clayland's induction to any parish in Maryland, it is certain that he, perhaps by default, took up the rectorate at St. Michael's—the parish in which was situated his personal glebe land.[12]

Whither a Church?

The first Act of Establishment created vestries in each parish and empowered the local sheriff to collect a tax of forty pounds of tobacco per taxable person—any white male over sixteen and all slaves over sixteen years of age—for the construction of churches and the maintenance of ministers. Talbot sheriff Samuel Withers collected in excess of 6,000 pounds of the weed by the end of 1693, and the vestry of St. Michael's was agitating for the release of that excess which remained in his possession. Withers was pursuing an order of the assembly, against the apparent wishes of the vestry, that a church be built at Williamstadt (Oxford). The vestry eventually won its lawsuit, and in July 1696 the assembly ordered the sheriff to surrender the tobacco. These financial complications may have delayed early construction of a parish church.[13]

The apparent tardiness of church construction at St. Michael's Parish might also be connected with the fortunes of its first rector. James Clayland is notable for the many times he appeared as a defendant in lawsuits before the Talbot and Provincial Courts. A survey of the available judgment records reveals that between 1674 and 1699 he was called before the magistrates no less than twenty-one times to answer accusations that he failed to honor certain financial obligations. Constrained by a large family and an income based on charity and subscriptions, which often seem to have been left unpaid, and in the face of an economy that was frequently more bust than boom, he apparently maintained the style of a gentleman in the only way he could—he let his debts mount up and developed a strategy of evasion to avoid paying them.[14]

[12] For a detailed discussion of the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, see Carr and Jordan; ArchMdOnline 13: 425; 23: 23–25, 17–23; Percy C. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), 143–47; Alice E. Cohee, *In the Beginning, 1672–1800: Christ Church, St. Michael's Parish* (St. Michaels, Md., 2001), 3–4.

[13] ArchMdOnline, 20: 378–79, 450–51.

[14] In 1674, for example, John Clemens brought suit against Clayland for the 2,800 pounds

This fiscal irresponsibility, coupled with an apparent absence of clerical orders, undoubtedly compelled governor Francis Nicholson to declare in 1698 that Clayland was "scandalous and not qualified." The conspicuous absence of an incumbent for St. Michael's on a list of May 1698 benefices suggests, from an official standpoint, that Clayland had been removed, yet such sanction may not have extended to the local level. James Clayland's inventory, taken in November 1699, lists tobacco "allowed by the Vestrey att [sic] A penny [per] pound," amounting to just over forty-nine pounds of currency—by far his most valuable listed asset. The gentlemen among whom Clayland had lived for the past twenty-seven years seem to have winked at the minister's most glaring faults—so long as his debts to *them* were paid.[15] In July 1699, James Clayland fell ill at his Wye River plantation, and Doctor James Benson was called to minister to the clergyman in what was to be his last sickness. Clayland died by November 7, and the following May St. Michael's received its second incumbent. In days to come, members would probably wax nostalgic for the days of the "scandalous" James Clayland.[16]

A St. Michael's Parish Church

Richard Marsden was tall and stoop-shouldered, his swarthy complexion marred by the ravages of small-pox, yet he had an easy and gregarious nature, coupled with an assiduos industry that engendered confidence and loyalty. He is first seen at Annapolis during Commissary Dr. Thomas Bray's visitation of 1700. There he was listed as reader for St. Michael's Parish. Later that year Marsden reportedly returned to England to receive his ordination and arrived back in Talbot, where he took his place as rector of St. Michaels. In relatively short order he married into one of the local families—probably the Joneses' of Miles River Neck—and children began arriving in the summer of 1702. [17]

If Marsden conducted himself as he did in later cures, he soon had a loyal following amongst the St. Michael's vestry and parish. Not long after his arrival, carpenter Edward Elliott built a wood-framed clapboard church near a deep-wa-

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of "merchantable porke and beefe" the cleric had promised him two years earlier. In that same year, Ralph Dawson also sued Clayland for 3,400 pounds of tobacco or a "man Servant according to the tenor of his said bill." In the mid-to-late 1690s, Clayland was brought before the court by a merchant who sold the minister a quantity of luxury textiles, and a tailor who fashioned clothing for five of his children. The various Clayland lawsuits can be found in the Talbot Judgment libers and *Procedings of the Provincial Court,* ArchMdOnline. For Clemens and Dawson, see ArchMdOnline, 65: 458–59.

[15] ArchMdOnline, 25: 580; Fulham Papers, II, 103; MSA, Prerogative Court, Testamentary Papers, Box 12, Folder 30. There are a few examples of Clayland being sued by his gentlemen neighbors.

[16] See Judgments, 2/1700 for Dr. James Benson's suit against Clayland's estate.

[17] Fulham Papers, XVII, 222; an account of the misadventures of Richard Marsden is found in Fleming H. James, "Richard Marsden, Wayward Clergyman," *William and Mary Quar-*

ter cove on the south side of the river that became known as the Bayside Church.[18] In early 1704, Marsden purchased two adjoining tracts of land on Miles River Neck on the opposite shore from the parish church. A residence at "Long Point" or "Fentry" certainly would have made it easier for him to serve the needs of both ends of the parish, but there was at this time a desire of Miles River Neck inhabitants to have a chapel of their own. Solomon Jones, more than likely a relative of Marsden by marriage, penned a will late in 1704 stating as much, leaving "the residue of his estate for the building and repairing of a church on this side of the St. Michael's River." Marsden, though not named in the will as executor, nevertheless became the administrator of Jones's estate, and in April 1706, Marsden's name headed a petition to the provincial legislature from the St. Michael's vestry. The document requested a special law allowing the vestry to sell the Jones dwelling plantation "and the Proffitts thereof appropriated to a Chappel of Ease." The legislature at length denied the request and advised the vestry to resort to the common law to settle the matter.[19] This was not Marsden's first setback. He also seems to have experienced financial difficulties beginning in early 1705, as suggested by his sale of "Longpoint" and "Fentry" to merchant Robert Grundy around this time. This transaction was perhaps the first outward sign of the decline of his fortunes. By the following year, William Bladen had obtained an award against Marsden and in 1701 an attachment of his goods and chattels. Too late. Marsden had already fled the county for South Carolina, leaving behind debt, scandal, ruin—and his wife and three children.[20]

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terly, (Oct., 1954), 578–91; Fulham Papers, II, 141–59, "A Journall conteyning the Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation"; St. Michael's Parish Births and Baptisms, MSA; Dr. Thomas Bray was the official representative of the Bishop of London in Maryland.

[18] See James, "Richard Marsden, Wayward Clergyman"; the construction date of the Bayside Church is unknown. Harper, in her *History of St. Michael's Parish*, 21, states that the first church was built around 1672 and a second around 1700. A misunderstanding of the term "old church" in the vestry minutes is probably to blame for this obvious error. Alice Cohee believes that the first church was constructed between 1696 and 1698. See Cohee, *In the Beginning*, 7. The village of St. Michael's eventually grew up around this church, the first of three to occupy the site where the present Christ Church now stands. This first edifice stood till well after the Revolution. The industrious Marsden probably had much to do with its initial construction. A search of Talbot land, court, road, and probate records has thus far failed to locate a mention of the parish church prior to 1704, when the will of Solomon Jones implies that a church already existed on the south side of the St. Michael's River. The parish birth registry, however, the oldest extant record of the parish, seems to indicate a demarcation at August of 1702 with a notation there, "Baptized at St. Michlls Church." This is probably the date construction was completed on the first church.

[19] TLR, 9: 228; Wills, 3: 465; Accounts, 26: 213; ArchMdOnline, 26: 533, 547, 568, 581.

[20] In September of the prior year, Marsden had paid a twenty two pound sterling debt to merchant Daniel Sherwood with a bill of exchange directed to a certain Thomas Marsden

Although the vacancy Marsden's departure created was a tragedy for his Talbot family and St. Michael's Parish, it was welcome news to the Rev. Henry Nicols, son of the vicar of Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, Wales.[21] In 1703, as a condition of his fellowship at Oxford, he accepted an appointment from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as the first resident missionary to Chester, Pennsylvania. A feud with the local grandee soon soured him on the parish, and when he learned of the vacancy at St. Michael's, the recently married Nicols made his excuses to the vestry, declaring "that he could no longer subsist at Chester" and relocated with his family and two slaves to the Eastern Shore of Maryland.[22] Henry Nicols, a true English churchman with a gentleman's bearing and education, was probably a welcome sight to the parishioners of St. Michael's. The young parson had the added fortune of arriving in the neglected home parish of acting governor Edward Lloyd II. With Lloyd's approval, Henry Nicols was fully and legally inducted into St. Michael's and may have been the first formally installed rector.[23]

The new rector faced, and met, the challenge in the wreckage Marsden and Clayland had wrought and stabilized the parish. By 1713, Nicols purchased a three hundred-acre group of properties collectively known as "Maiden Point," a mile or so from the church on the main road from Miles River ferry. His close proximity

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at St. Martins Lane in London. Within a week Sherwood had transferred the bill to merchant William Bladen, who in like fashion placed it on a ship bound for London. When the bill arrived five months later, Thomas Marsden—whether a relative of Richard or not—refused to make payment. TLR, 9: 301–04; Judgments, 1706–1708, 278–279 for William Bladen agt. Richard Marsden; 361–62, Christmas Jones agt. Richard Marsden.

[21] Remarkable insight into the *modus operandi* of the man who was Richard Marsden can be gathered from the writings of South Carolina Anglican Commissary Gideon Johnston. Marsden, according to Johnston, was a "lucky deceiver. . . particularly dextrous at drawing Sham Bills on Merchants and others in London and elsewhere," by which he mounted debt upon debt until the house of cards thus erected threatened to collapse of its own weight. In that event, the errant ministier would quietly flee leaving worthless notes in his wake. Johnston had learned from former Maryland governor John Seymour some of the details of Marsden's egress from Maryland: "his [Brother In Law] dyed heartbroken thro' the losses he had sustained by being bound for him in Maryland; and his Wife in a short time after followed her Brother being overwhelmed with an insupportable grief." For Marsden, this scene would be re-ennacted, albeit with differing players, repeatedly until his death near Cape Fear in 1742. Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707–1716* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 48–49, letter of Johnston to S. P. G. Secretary, July 5, 1710; James, 591; Johnston attributed Marsden's downfall to "his love of merchandizing. . . and by his fraudulent and extravagant dealings."

[22] Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, 205; *Fulham Papers*, III, 59; Nelson W. Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia: 1947), 11; ArchMdOnline, 27: 278.

[23] Although few records survive from this period, it is certain that Nicols was not only well received but that he ultimately prospered in his new benefice. Fulham Papers, III, 59, Henry Nicols' answers to a querry from Bishop Gibson, July 16, 1724.

made a positive contribution to parish life.[24] The residents of Miles River Neck, though, still needed a chapel, and they waited until Edward Lloyd II's bequest of fifty pounds sterling "towards the building of a Church in St. Michaels Parish on the North side of St. Michaels River at Dundee" arrived. The Reverend Henry Nicols signed as the first witness to the document that created Dundee Chapel, Edward Lloyd's church.[25]

Work began soon after Lloyd's death, probably in 1720, and by early 1721 the new chapel stood along the road that connected Doncaster with the old courthouse town of Yorke on a two-acre portion of the tract "Pattingham." Construction continued for the next four years, due in part to the generosity of James Wallace who willed the "Remainder of his Estate be Paid to the Vestry of St. Michaells Parish aforesaid for ye Euse of ye Church at ye Part of ye Parish called & known by ye Name of Dundee." Yet again it was the Reverend Henry Nicols who first witnessed the will. In all, the chapel cost over £200.[26]

We know very little of the actual building of Dundee Chapel, because the earliest vestry minutes date from ten years after its construction. Knowledge is limited to what can be gleaned from references to repairs made over its lifetime. From these entries, we know that the chapel was of wood-frame construction, originally built on a foundation of wooden blocks and oriented according to ancient tradition along an east-west axis. Per local practice, inch-thick oaken weatherboards, apparently brushed with a mixture of tar and paint, covered the outer walls. A "great window" adorned the western end, the traditional entryway into an English church, and the north and south sides of the chapel held high quality sash-type windows made with small square panes. The chapel may have been a smaller twin of its original Bayside sister, a tall, rectangular structure with a western entry, tucked beneath a gallery.[27]

If we know little about the exterior of the chapel, we know even less about its

[24] TLR, 12: 125.

[25] The namesake and principal heir of his grandfather, Puritan merchant Edward Lloyd I, Edward Lloyd II was the eldest son of Philemon and Henrietta Maria Lloyd. The younger Lloyd followed in the political traditions of his father and grandfather, becoming a member of the Assembly from 1697 to 1700. In 1701 he was appointed to the council, where he became the president—and thus acting governor—for five years when Governor John Seymour died in office. Neither was Edward the younger a disappointment to the memory of his Protestant father in terms of religion. *BDML*, II, 534; Wills, Box 15, Folder 17.

[26] Richard and Abigail Hazeldine donated the land to the parish in 1696. Although the chapel sat on "Pattingham," it took the name of the four-hundred acre tract called "Dundee" that engulfed it on three sides. Judgments, 3/1721 court, road records; TLR, 14: 173–74; Wills, Box 24, Folder 33; Fulham Papers, III, 59.

[27] VPSMP, 109, 219; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Boston, 1986; reprint, New Haven & London, 1997), 35. Upton provides an admirable and extensive study of Anglican architecture in colonial Virginia.

interior. We can be confident that traditional spaces such as the easternmost chancel and the larger western nave existed and contained the necessary elements for Anglican worship: a railed-in communion table in the chancel, a minister's pulpit, a reader's desk, and a baptismal font in the nave. The only certain knowledge in regard to the interior is that the walls and possibly the ceiling were lathed and plastered, and probably whitewashed. We also know that ornaments adorned the Dundee chapel, perhaps a large folio Bible and prayer book, communion table and pulpit covering cloths.[28]

In 1695, Governor Francis Nicholson turned decisions of the style and arrangement of Maryland's church pews over to parishioners, who could build as they saw fit. No pew map survives for the chapel at Dundee, but it contained at least nineteen pews at ground level, at least one double-decker or "hanging" pew, and public benches for those who could not afford to build or purchase a pew. In July 1724, Nicols estimated that the chapel accommodated as many as two hundred people.[29]

As the home church of two of the wealthiest families in the parish, the Lloyds and the Goldsboroughs, who regularly served in the vestry, the chapel surely boasted every English element. Although information on the chapel's outer appearance is lacking, the vestry minutes give a rather thorough indication of the size of the churchyard as well as how it might have looked when its fencing was new. The churchyard at Dundee encircled the chapel and extended south and eastward towards Higgs' Branch (now Church Creek). The gateway, probably aligned with the chapel's western door, was flanked by two substantial gate posts standing seven feet high, finished to a spear point, and hung with "two large handsome gates" that could be locked. Early Marylanders commonly let their livestock range freely about their farms which made fencing extremely important, since a marauding gang of hogs could do unthinkable damage to a hallowed burial ground.[30] Inside the Dundee churchyard individuals or families erected smaller

[28] VMSMP, 109, 219; That the ornaments of Dundee Chapel were eventually "taken down for the better preservation of them" presupposes that they were "put up" at one time. For a listing of ornaments in a colonial Virginia church, see Upton, 139.

[29] These were commonly box pews with sides as high as forty-eight inches. H. Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1967), 153–155; Fulham Papers, III, 59.

[30] VMSMP, 118–19; Wills, 25: 102. The yard itself was enclosed by approximately 440 linear feet of oak fencing, composed of horizontal fence rails covered with white oak pales, four and a half feet tall, four inches broad and three-quarters of an inch thick, probably spaced about two and a half inches apart. The whole was then crowned with batting board all around the exterior. The fence was probably never tarred or painted, and was thus very prone to decay. The maintenance of churchyard fences was a problem in England as well. There are records of domestic animals in England actually disinterring occupants from

fences to mark their burial plots. Thomas Hopkins had enclosed such an area by January 1745. Many land-owning families had long-established family burial grounds on their properties which they preferred even after they had access to a local churchyard. It is likely, therefore, that most of those interred at Dundee churchyard were landless tenant farmers and poor laborers of the Miles River Neck region.[31]

This overall picture is far different from the whitewashed, steepled edifices that have become common on the American landscape. Dundee Chapel was probably a tall, dark, possibly even Gothic-looking, construction trimmed with touches of white lead on its cornices, window frames and shutters, and with exterior ornamentation in stark contrast to the ramshackle and unpainted farm buildings dotting the surrounding countryside.[32] Per encouragement of the Church of England, every other Sunday, weather permitting, the whole society of Miles River Neck strove to gather at this outpost of English society and hear divine service. It is easy to imagine the unfolding of a Sunday morning scene similar to the one Phillip Fithian described in his now famous journal.[33]

Sexton Elizabeth Springer, bearing a bundle of freshly washed and ironed church linens, first breaks the Sabbath morning stillness at Dundee Chapel. As she unlocks the churchyard gate, she shoos away a nearby hog showing an inordinate interest in the churchyard fence.[34] Closing the gate behind her, Elizabeth proceeds up the porch steps and, as if to spite her own illiteracy, pauses briefly to see if any new notices have been tacked to the nail-pocked door, the official bulletin board of the neighborhood. Seeing very little there to hold her interest, she enters the chapel and goes about her work.[35]

In perhaps an hour the planters and laborers begin to arrive, some on horseback, some on foot. It is a warm and pleasant morning, so they greet one another

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time to time. See David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), 466–68.

[31] Wills, Box 12, Folder 5; Philip Fithian was of the understanding that "only the lower sort of People [were] buried at the Church." See Hunter D. Farish, ed., *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion* (Williamsburg, Va., 1957), 41. Thomas Hopkins, local planter, died apparently landless in 1748.

[32] VMSMP, 129. The Bayside Church was trimmed with white lead and oil.

[33] Fulham Papers, III, 59; Farish, *Plantation Tutor*, 167.

[34] In the fifty-year period covered in this study, only one man served a brief term as sexton at the chapel; all the others were women of the middling planter class or lower. Here the main duties of the sexton were cleaning the chapel and communion cup, washing and ironing the communion tablecloth and surplice linen, and insuring that the churchyard gates were kept locked. VMSMP, *passim*; Capt. Meshack Bodfield's one year term as sexton was cut short by his death. He was also a Dundee warden in 1747. See Wills, 27: 439, MSA.

[35] Upton, 71.

and exchange news of the neighborhood as they await the arrival of the minister.[36] At precisely five minutes of ten, the Reverend Henry Nicols rounds the bend of the road from Miles River ferry, *his* morning's business at hand. The lower and middling class planters follow the rector into the western doorway and find their seats. Everyone knows his place.[37]

Dundee Chapel: 1731–1779

The extant vestry proceedings of St. Michael's Parish open in April 1731 and provide a running history of repairs made to the church and chapel as well as the selection and compensation of parish officers and other parish business. On Easter Monday of each year, the freeholders of the parish gathered and elected vestrymen and wardens to serve in the year ahead. Although vestrymen tended to oversee the parish as a whole and were generally gentlemen of the highest order, church wardens seem to have had responsibility for a single church property and tended to be middling to well-off landowners with varying levels of skill and areas of expertise. St. Michael's vestry records indicate that, in addition to one other church warden, a Miles River Neck inhabitant was always selected for the upkeep and repair of the chapel at Dundee. An examination of fifty years of vestry minute entries provides a roster of well-known Miles River families, including Bensons, Bruffs, Horneys, Higgses, Gibsons, Grasons, Kininmonts, Rays, and Skinners. The office of church warden was all but hereditary as noted in the pattern of sons taking up their fathers' service.[38]

On the earliest page of the surviving vestry proceedings, church warden John Wilson received payment for underpinning the chapel. The chapel's eleven-year-old foundation blocks apparently required replacement with brick. Around this time, many of the rails in the churchyard paling were also similarly decayed, and fifty "squares" of glass were needed to mend the chapel windows. Additionally, the roof needed tarring.[39]

In mid-1733, the St. Michael's vestry moved forward with plans for constructing a new chancel for the parish church at the Bayside and converting the simple rectangular floor plan into one resembling a capital "T." This renovation received the lion's share of parish resources for the next four years. By August 1735, the

[36] Farish, *Plantation Tutor*, 29, 167.

[37] *Fulham Papers*, III, 178, Arthur Holt, rector of St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's Co., circa 1735, wrote that "Mr. Nicols is very regular in his Manner of Life, and strict in the Observation of the Rules of the Church . . . ."; Farish, *Plantation Tutor*, 29.

[38] VMSMP, *passim*; St. Michael's vestrymen were culled from the same class as were the justices, sheriffs, and other high provincial offices—wealth was a usual prerequisite.

[39] Ibid., 5, 8, 14, 18. In 1765 the vestry ordered the Bayside Church to be underpinned with "good hard Brick one and a half Brick thick Round the outside and under the two Main Sills inside." The Dundee Chapel renovation likely prefigured this repair.

Dundee chapel windows still needed work, and the vestry urged warden William Edwards to find the glass and make the other necessary repairs. The next year Dundee warden Joseph Porter repaired the churchyard gates, and the vestry directed Robert Goldsborough Jr. to find someone to paint the chapel.[40]

Henry Nicols died February 12, 1749, at the age of seventy. The *Maryland Gazette* observed, "His life was exemplary, his character unblamable and worthy of imitation." Nicols undoubtedly left his benefice in a better condition than he found it. Far from the frontier society he had found on his arrival in Talbot forty years earlier, his education and organizational talents left the people of his parish with a legacy of firmly established institutions. In his will he identified himself as "the most unworthy minister" of his parish, and expressed thankfulness for his birth into the Christian Church "Established in the Kingdom of England." [41] He also requested that he be buried with his wife in *his* church. The parish dutifuly complied.[42]

The Reverend John Gordon was rector of St. Anne's Parish in Annapolis when news of Nicols's death arrived. The erudite Scotsman, a graduate with a Master of Arts from the University of Aberdeen when he was only seventeen years of age, had taken the position at St. Anne's in May 1745 at the age of twenty-eight. Life in Maryland's provincial capital agreed with Gordon, a gregarious fellow who became one of the founding members of the Tuesday Club, earning the moniker "Rev. Smoothum Sly" from fellow founder Dr. Alexander Hamilton. Through this association, Gordon met many prominent men, including a number of notable Talbot Countians and perhaps learned of the profitable situation Henry Nicols enjoyed at St. Michaels. Gordon's proximity to the provincial capital (and the governor) made securing the Nicols position easy, and on March 1, 1749, Governor Samuel Ogle appointed John Gordon as rector of St. Michael's Parish.[43]

[40] The vestry allotted three hundred pounds of tobacco for the purchase of fifty glass squares. Edwards had the panes by October 1736, but the vestry quickly diverted them for use in the new Bayside Church. It is possible that some of Dundee Chapel's windows were eventually repaired in 1737. Ibid., 8, 19, 21, 27, 28, 36; Upton, 78–80, discusses what he calls the "T addition" to colonial Virginia churches—the most common addition to a rectangular church.

[41] *Maryland Gazette*, February 15, 1749; Nicols was also apparently a competent manager. Talbot County land records show that between early 1713 and December 1734, he was able to secure upwards of 1,200 acres. When he died, Nicols left a county with firmly established institutions he helped build and considerable wealth in the hands of his progeny. TLR, 12: 125, 446; 13: 33, 645; 14: 59–62; Wills, Box 18, Folder 15; Tilghman, II, 311.

[42] Emphasis in the original, Wills, Box 18, Folder 15; Tilghman, II, 311. Nicols was indeed buried under the chancel he appended to the Bayside church. His tombstone was uncovered there when the second church was torn down in 1878, and can still be seen in the basement of Christ Church.

[43] Mary Starin, "The Reverend Doctor John Gordon, 1717–1790," *MdHM*, 75 (1980): 167–91.

Gordon arrived in Talbot at the mid-water mark of the colonial Chesapeake's Golden Age, a period in which the merchant-planter class had all but sealed its claim to ascendancy at the top of a far more rigid class structure than existed in the early days of the colony. Between 1750 and the Revolution, tobacco prices would fall no lower than 1.35 pence per pound—indeed they would more often hover closer to two pence—ensuring a good parochial income. Talbot was now well established with a brick courthouse and a plethora of oft-traveled roads connecting outlying plantations with schoolhouses, churches, and places of commerce. It was certainly a good time to be an Anglican minister.[44]

Gordon's induction to St. Michael's signaled a period of renewed activity in the parish. In July the vestry moved forward with plans to renovate the windows and southern door of the chancel, and in October Gordon was requested to procure from an Annapolis silversmith a chalice and communion plate for Dundee Chapel. Two years later, newly elected vestryman Captain Richard Bruff gained permission to build a hanging pew over that of Richard Gibson, with the caveat that "he make it conformable to the rest of the Church and keep [it] in Repair at his own expense."[45]

Captain Bruff was perhaps the most dynamic and versatile of the Dundee church wardens encountered in this study.[46] Undoubtedly a tobacco planter, Bruff

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Starin's article is the definitive work on John Gordon; Edward Lloyd III was an honorary member of the Tuesday Club, admitted in 1745, see Alexander Hamilton, *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, Robert Micklus, ed. (3 vols. Chapel Hill and London, 1990), xciv; VMSMP, 75.

[44] Gordon would find success comparable to that of his predecessor. He seems to have built upon the income from the two parish glebes, so that by 1757 he was farming in his own right. In 1760 he was able to purchase a third of John Carslake's land in Miles River Neck, and by 1767, he had acquired almost seven hundred acres there, as well as securing to himself the Miles River ferry concession which paid 7,000 pounds of tobacco a year. Thus, in later years, Dundee Chapel served as Gordon's home church. Preston, 77–108 provides a gloss of Talbot's "Golden Years"; tobacco prices are for Talbot, see Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 226–27; Starin, 179; TLR, 19: 30, 119–20; Talbot Judgments, 11/1767 Court.

[45] Dell Upton states that hanging pews were a hallmark of "gentry self-expression in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia." The application certainly held true in Maryland as well. Bruff's pew became a bone of contention in March 1755 when vestrymen Robert Goldsborough and William Thomas brought a declaration before the vestry arguing that it "has given Just cause of Complaint to several persons, by obstructing their view of the Minister & Pulpit." This complaint might be seen as a manifestation of friction in the local social order—the established gentry reacting to an assertive upstart, as it were—but it is also just as likely that the pew was indeed an obstructive eyesore. There is, however, no mention in the record of the vestry ever ordering Bruff to tear out his offending pew. VMSMP, 76, 83, 89, 93, 99, 104; Upton, 222.

[46] Captain Bruff was the grandson of Thomas Bruff, a tailor and inn-keeper, who arrived

periodically plied the waters of the Chesapeake and Atlantic as merchant and mariner, possibly in combination with his Queen Anne's County cousins, James and Richard Tilghman Earle. In 1739 he purchased the Miles River Neck properties of his brother James, part of "Walker's Tooth" and "Partnership," which adjoined the land of their brother Thomas. The following Easter, Richard Bruff was elected church warden for Dundee Chapel, but as he expected to be "going to sea" in the upcoming year, he requested and was granted a deferment. Indeed, a survey of his estate inventory shows Bruff possessed not only the necessary instruments for nautical navigation—a quadrant, a hanging compass, a spyglass and a nocturnal—but also a "Sett of Surveying Instruments."[47] Easter 1741 found Bruff safely returned from his voyage and able to serve his appointed year as warden at Dundee Chapel. During his term, the vestry did not seem to have greatly employed Bruff's carpentry or joinery skills. Rather, he appears to have been utilized as a reader during Sunday services.[48]

By the time of his death in 1760, Richard Bruff had been married at least twice. These two unions produced six surviving children: William, Richard, Mary, Lucy, Rachel, and Rebecca. His widow, Rachel, had a son from a previous marriage who was not yet twenty-one. Richard Bruff also fathered Jacob and Ben, "two negro children born of a negro woman," born to their teenage mother, Rose. Bruff be-

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in Maryland in 1671. In the late 1690s, Thomas Bruff operated an ordinary at Doncaster Town on the Wye River. He died in 1702, leaving his dwelling plantation at Doncaster to his son Richard who had married Rachel Earle, daughter of James Earle. The Bruffs initially maintained the family interests at Doncaster, but as the town declined in the first quarter of the century, Richard acquired land in Miles River Neck at the ferry point, and in November of 1720 he took over operation of the ferry. In 1722 their daughter Rachel married Nicholas Benson, grandson of the doctor who treated James Clayland on his deathbed. Richard, the inn-keeper, died in 1730, dividing his lands among his three sons: Thomas, Richard, and James. TLR, 12: 405–07; June 24, 1720, Rich'd Bennett III and Rich'd Bruff's exchange of lands: part of Crouches (Bruff's) Island to Bennett, lands near Walker's (Miles River) Ferry to Bruff; Wills, 22: 265, Will of Joseph Earl; Talbot Judgments, 3/1720, Rich'd Bruff petitions to remove his ordinary to Miles River Ferry; 11/1720 court, Bruff agrees to operate Miles River Ferry; *BDML*, I, 131, Perry Benson; Wills, 20: 73–75. The Earles were probably residents of a portion of Talbot which would soon become part of Queen Anne's County.

[47] The skills necessary to employ such equipment were often imparted as "an essential part of the education of a gentleman" in the colonial Chesapeake, which hints at the social status of the Bruffs of Miles River Neck. TLR, 14: 427, 385–87; *BDML*, I, 295–96, Richard T. Earle; VMSMP, 42; Arthur P. Middleton *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va., 1953), 25–26.

[48] Bruff was most certainly literate. His home library consisted mainly of religious books: a quarto Bible and two other Bibles, four Books of Common Prayer, a copy of Burnet's *Thirty-Nine Articles*, and Barrow's *On Contentment*—but he also possessed four volumes of Richard Steele's humorous *Tattler* and a dictionary. VMSMP, 46, 50; Inventories, 70: 1–8.

queathed these two boys to their half-sister, Rebecca. Rachel gained the use of one-third of her husband's lands, a renovated cottage on the shore of the Miles River, and ownership of a twenty-year-old slave woman named Rose.[49]

By October 1757 the churchyard at Dundee was again in need of repair. Vestrymen James Benson and William Tripp searched for someone to rebuild the entire yard. They first contracted with Benjamin Sheald, who then bowed out of the deal in favor of David Fitzpatrick, a local planter. Two "strong double Gates," hung on the spear-pointed gate posts with "good strong Iron Hinges," completed the job.[50] Shortly thereafter the chapel once again needed work.[51] In the summer of 1760, Bayside Church underwent another major renovation. It was entirely re-roofed and weather-boarded, new sills and sleeper joists were installed, and the floors were leveled. James Benson worked as principal contract on this project.[52] In 1750, James Benson was elected as church warden for Dundee Chapel. The

[49] Wills, 30: 852; TLR, 19: 185; Prerogative Court, Testamentary Proceedings, Book 41, *passim.*, covers the William Bruff/Richard Bruff administrative account activity in Queen Anne's County, 1765. VMSMP, 107; Inventories, 70: 1–8; Forman, *Old Buildings*, 17, 150–51 discusses calmes and the detailed design of the leaded casement windows created for the 1953–1960 renovation of Old Trinity Church, Dorchester County, Md.

[50] The vestry desired that the two ends of the yard and one side be built from all new materials; the remaining side, which adjoined the orchard of Aaron Higgs, was to be built from "the best of the old stuff." All new fence posts of cedar or locust were to be sunk in the place of the old ones, so that the yard maintained its original shape, and new white oak pails were to be "well nailed on." Ibid., 118–19, 122; Wills, 25: 102, MSA. Aaron Higgs's orchard is mentioned in his will. It straddled a stream which was, as late as 1919, called Church Creek in its wider reaches; Talbot Land Records, Plats, Part of Dundee, the property of John Arringdale, Dec. 1919; TLR, 20: 277–78. David and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick owned land between Hunting and Leeds Creek which they sold to Edward Lloyd in 1773. The land might have been Elizabeth's dowry.

[51] VMSMP, 128.

[52] The windows and shutters were also renewed and "well Painted with White-lead and Oil," and all the weather boards were "tarred with Tarr mixed with Turkey Point Paint." Archibald McCallum was contracted with to do the job for the promise of £150. He was ultimately paid £125 for the work he completed. The rest, however, was paid to Mr. James Benson as part of the building addition he undertook at the church later that year. Benson's addition contained at least twenty pews on the main floor and eight in the gallery and was apparently completed by October 1762. James Benson was the grandson of the previously mentioned Doctor James Benson of St. Michael's River, and the son of Dundee church warden Perry Benson. Born in 1694, Perry is identified in Talbot land records as a carpenter in April of 1731 and as a gentleman in August of that same year. By March 1732 he was sitting as a Talbot justice and was rather ubiquitous in that position thereafter. In 1742, he was elected church warden for Dundee Chapel, and in 1745, a vestryman. Perry Benson died in 1751, leaving his twenty-five-year-old son James all his real estate in Miles River Neck as well as a knowledge of carpentry. Ibid., 129, 133–34, 137, 133, 134; TLR, 13: 645, 652, 681; Jean B. Russo, *Free Workers in a Plantation Economy: Talbot County, Maryland, 1690–1759* (New York, 1989), 329–30; VMSMP, 51, 58; Wills, 28: 182; Talbot Land Commissions, 1761–1782, 15, MSA.

following year he was elected to the first of three terms as vestryman and a generation later he "had become perhaps the most influencial resident of Lower Miles River Neck . . . with kinship ties pervading the Delmarva Penninsula."[53]

The Center at the Bayside

Improvements at the Bayside Church continued with a chimney added to the nearby vestry house in mid-1765, a well, and work on the brick underpinning of the older parts of the church. At this time the pulpit, the reader's pew, and desk were also moved forward, and new molding was installed to keep in fashion with pew work in the addition. By this time it is clear that the parish demographic center of gravity had moved ever closer to the Bayside as the church there seems to have been the beneficiary of most of the parish resources. Dundee Chapel is not mentioned in any substantial manner until late 1771.[54]

By October of that year, the fifty-year-old chapel at Dundee had started to sag, its great western window now hardly more than a portal for the winds. The vestry directed James Benson and John Bracco to find someone "to shore the Church at Dundee and plank up the great Window" and began devising plans for a new chapel of ease to be built at Miles River ferry. They then prepared to petition the General Assembly to tax the inhabitants of the parish for the monies to cover the costs. Meanwhile, the churchyard at Dundee required yet further repairs.[55]

While Revolution brewed in his majesty's colonies, the chapel continued in steep decline. As the winter of 1776 closed in, the vestry made contingency plans to hold Sunday worship in the hall of Thomas Bruff's old house near Miles River ferry, for the Dundee chapel stood "so ruinous and so open as to be dangerous to the Parishioners during that Windy and cold Season." Henceforward, it was not unusual for the residents of Miles River Neck to hold religious services in places other than the sacred environs of an English church.[56]

[53] In 1755, Benson was identified as a planter married to a woman named Hannah. In 1760, Benson purchased 200 acres of land in Miles River Neck adjoining a tract taken up by his father called "Fishing Bay." By 1772 he was identified in county records as a gentleman. In 1774, James was appointed a Trustee for the Poor of Talbot County and the following year as a delegate to the Maryland Convention. By 1779, James Benson, like his father before him, was appointed as a justice on the Talbot County Court. James and Hannah Benson were the parents of Perry, Margaret, Rebecca, Elizabeth, James, Charlotte, William, Robert, and Anne. Their daughter Margaret married a resident of Delaware, Doctor Edward White, and died after bearing him four children. VMSMP, 85, 108; TLR, 18: 303–05; 19: 37–38; Talbot Will Book JB #4, 230–33; ArchMdOnline, 64: 381; 11: 3; 21: 250; see also *BDML*, I, 130–31. TLR, 18: 303–305; 19: 37–38; Talbot Will Book JB #4, 230–33.

[54] VMSMP, 144.

[55] Ibid., 162, 164, 166, 174.

[56] Ibid., 180, 181–82. A plasterer was called in to repair the open cracks of the chapel interior.

In the parish elections of 1777, Richard Parrott took on the duty of caring for the languishing chapel. Richard was the great-great-grandson of the William Parrat who arrived in Talbot County around 1659, and the son of Joseph Parrott and Mary his wife, the daughter of Dr. James Benson. Parrott's connection to Miles River Neck was undoubtedly made through his cousin James Benson, who was a neighbor of Dundee church warden John Kininmont (1761) and his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of Dundee warden William Edwards (1735). Parrott grew corn, oats, wheat, flax, clover, and Irish potatoes and raised sheep and cattle. He also produced pine plank, linen and woolen yarn, and leather. By the late 1770s, Richard and Elizabeth Parrott owned a busy and comfortably affluent farmstead.[57]

The parish of St. Michael's vestry did not officially meet during the turbulent months between May 1777 and June 1779. British warships on the Chesapeake and troops storming across the upper Delmarva Peninsula created an environment rife with rumor, fear, and uncertainty. When the vestry did meet again after two years, the officers of the church were obligated to swear an oath of allegiance to the new State of Maryland. The established church of the province of Maryland was no more, and membership rolls of the Church of England on the Eastern Shore began to suffer as a new religious sect rose.[58]

Early Methodism and the Delmarva Peninsula

Methodism initially grew out of the conversion experiences of a triumvirate of young Oxford divinity students of the 1730s, brothers John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. John Wesley's organizational and leadership skills, coupled with a powerful religious zeal and diligence, made Methodism a vigorous reform movement within the Church of England. A missionary at heart, Wesley continued to look upon the American colonies as a mission field ripe for the harvest. With that end in mind, Wesley in 1771 sent twenty-seven-year old Francis Asbury to America. Asbury stepped off the boat in Philadelphia in late October and began an epic career as a preacher, organizer, and administrator. He first entered Maryland in April 1772 and spent much of his first year there. Among his early converts, Delaware's Judge Thomas White shared family ties with Talbot County's James

[57] John Kininmont had died in 1762, leaving Elizabeth and two children—Susannah and John—without a husband and father, but by no means in an untenable situation. The Kininmonts owned about four hundred acres of well-developed farm and woodland with "light, lively soil fronting on Hunting Creek." Seven slaves—a fifty-five year old man, three younger women, and three male children—lived on the property as well. Robert W. Barnes, and F. Edward Wright, *Colonial Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, Vol. 3 (Westminster, Md., 1997) 267–77; Assessment of 1783, Dist. 2, 12; Inventories, 80: 532–535; TLR, 20: 54; Talbot Inventory Book IB & GB, 224–29, MSA.

[58] VMSMP, 18.

Benson, and the two itinerant preachers spread the gospel of Methodism to the people of St. Michael's parish.[59]

Freeborn Garrettson was born in Harford County, Maryland in August 1752 to a moderately wealthy and well-established family. As a young man Garrettson heard Francis Asbury preach and met Robert Strawbridge, one of America's early Methodist preachers. After his conversion in 1775, Garrettson led family devotions with the servants present and experienced a divine revelation. "[A]s I stood with my Psalm book open, just about to begin to sing," he related in his manuscript journal, "it appeared to me, as if some person stood by me, and said, it is not the will of the Lord that you should keep your fellow creatures in bondage." After a moment of stunned silence, Garrettson announced to his astounded slaves that they no longer belonged to him.[60]

The manumission of his slaves brought with it a corresponding freedom of heart, and the twenty-three-year-old convert began attending Methodist classes and preaching to friends and acquaintances, going so far as to turn his own home and that of his brother John into meeting places. A gifted orator, Garrettson was encouraged by Wesley's men to become a circuit rider. At the next conference held at Baltimore in May 1776, Freeborn Garrettson was licensed as a Methodist preacher.

At this same conference a young Virginian named Joseph Hartley was appointed to Kent Circuit (Delaware) as a traveling preacher.[61] A native of Sussex County, Hartley was originally admitted as a traveling preacher in November 1775 by none other than Francis Asbury in Virginia on one of his many itinerations. With their uncommon zeal, Hartley and Asbury were kindred spirits indeed. In 1777, Hartley was appointed to the Baltimore Circuit, where the two men were able to nurture a growing friendship at a time when colonial patriots increasingly regarded Methodism and its preachers with suspicion, and sometimes outright contempt.[62]

[59] Judge Thomas White lived close to Whitleysburg in Kent County, Delaware, and reportedly converted to Methodism shortly after his wife Mary. It appears that his nephew Edward, a local physician, was also initially friendly to the Methodist message and only became more so. Before long a society grew up around the White family, and Edward's barn became a frequent meeting place. Edward, a recent widower, apparently maintained a close association with the maternal grandfather of his four children—James Benson of Miles River Neck in Talbot County, Maryland. William H. Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769–1820* (Wilmington, 1984), 27, 46; Talbot County Will Book JB #4, 230–33.

[60] Freeborn Garrettson, *The Experiences and Travels of Mr. Freeborn Garrettson, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in North America* (Philadelphia: 1791), 9, 33, 34;

[61] Williams, 30; Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson* (New York, 1829), 21, 31, 36, 43; John Lednum, *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America* (Philadelphia, 1862), 167, 213; Robert D. Simpson, *American Methodist Pioneer: Freeborn Garrettson* (Rutland, Vt: 1984), 3–4.

[62] Elmer T. Clark, et al., eds., *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (Nashville,1958), 213, 167, 273.

They had good reason to be suspicious, for John Wesley's 1775 *Calm Address to the American Colonies* was still fresh in many a patriot memory. In this widely publicized tract, Wesley admonished the colonials to put out of their minds the creation of a merciless republic, to obediently pay their taxes, and to "fear God and honor the King." Then, in the summer of 1777, English Methodist itinerant Martin Rodda became involved in pro-Tory politics in the northern Delmarva Peninsula, earning himself a stay in the Queen Anne's County (Maryland) jail on a charge of fomenting insurrection. After his release, Rodda reportedly publicized a royal proclamation promising pardon for all recanting rebels. When the British army marched into Wilmington and New Castle later that year, the coincidence was difficult to explain. Fearing for his safety, Rodda retreated to England, leaving the Methodist reputation in tatters.[63]

Fear of Tory conspiracies thus motivated the new state legislatures to institute oaths of allegiance to be signed by all free adult males. The oath devised by the State of Maryland seemed to commit signatories to mandatory military service if circumstance necessitated, a feature distasteful to the overwhelmingly pacifist Methodist circuit riders. Francis Asbury and Joseph Hartley agonized over the dilemma the oath presented. Hartley ultimately signed the less offensive Delaware oath and girded himself to preach his circuit. In March 1778, Asbury slipped into Delaware, where ministers were not constrained to take an oath and learned a few weeks later that Hartley had been arrested for preaching in Queen Anne's County.

> The court before which [Hartley] was brought prohibited him from preaching; but when his bands were loosed he went forth, attending his appointments, and after singing and praying, he would remain on his knees and exhort the people in a most feeling and forcible manner, until his enemies said they were as willing he should preach on his feet as on his knees.[64]

Effectively barred from preaching in Queen Anne's County, Joseph Hartley and Freeborn Garrettson set their sights on neighboring Talbot. It is probably no coincidence that Garrettson ended up on Miles River Neck "in the heat of July" of 1778. Dr. Edward White's father-in-law, James Benson, had his dwelling plantation there, situated on the Miles River. Garrettson preached in Talbot "for two weeks night and day with tears," and the affection and hospitality he received from the people there, most notably from two "mothers in Israel, sister Parrott and sister

[63] Ellis Sandoz, ed., *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era, 1730–1805* (Indianapolis, In.: 1991), 409–20; Williams, 40.

[64] Williams, 39–41; Asbury, Vol. 1, 245, 267, 266; Lednum, 213. In this account, Lednum is apparently relying on Jesse Lee's *Brief History of the Methodists in the United States.*

Harford County's Freeborn Garrettson carried Methodism to Maryland's Eastern Shore. (Reproduced with permission from the Methodist Collections of Drew University.)

Bruff," were powerfully ingrained in his memory. These were undoubtedly Elizabeth Parrott and the widow Rachel Bruff. Both women and their families lived in close proximity to Benson, the Parrotts on the southeast side of Hunting Creek and Rachel Bruff at Miles River ferry.[65]

Eight years after the 1760 death of her husband Richard, Rachel Bruff entered a period of spiritual crisis. "I was brought under deep distress of soul, being made sensible of my undone estate by nature," she wrote in her autobiographical account, "and [I] was constrained to implore the aid of the blessed Spirit; knowing that I could do nothing of myself." Bruff sought solace in frequent prayer and Bible study but could not escape a feeling of "deep distress." On one occasion when she was particularly affected, she fell after prayer into a dreamlike state, finding herself in a woman's sickroom. Suddenly a person materialized whom Bruff identified as "the Son of God." The Christ figure, "comely" in appearance, and "plain and grave" of dress, was girded about the waist with a snow-white towel. In her vision, the apparition approached the overawed Rachel and presented her with the towel, saying, "Do as I have done" and then immediately disappeared. "When I awoke," she wrote, "I was more determined than ever to devote the remainder of my days to the service of God."[66]

Rachel Bruff's spiritual pilgrimage appears to have been a solitary one up to 1776. In the tumult of that year, with the threat of British attack from the Chesa-

[65] Garrettson, 87; Assessment of 1783, Talbot County. See family listings in Island Hundred. To be called a "mother in Israel" was perhaps the highest compliment that could be paid to a Methodist woman.

[66] Rachel Bruff, "The Experience of Rachel Bruff of Talbot County, Maryland," *Arminian Magazine* (London, 1787), Vol. 10, 135–37.

peake, Rachel's friends persuaded her to relocate from Miles River Neck to an unspecified location. Perhaps she was moved to Queen Anne's County to reside with her merchant stepson William Bruff and his wife, the former Catherine Ennals. Wherever she went, the pious Rachel felt isolated and threatened by the lack of spirituality the people demonstrated. Her distress was short-lived, however, for in 1777 Bruff was happily allowed to return to her "little cottage" on Miles River Neck.[67]

In February of the next year the widow Bruff had the opportunity to hear English Methodist George Shadford preach. She initially found herself in agreement with Methodist doctrine but did not join a society until she felt certain that the circuit riders were "servants of God, sent to shew us the way of salvation." In the year 1778, according to Bruff, "the Lord began to pour out his Spirit upon my neighbors; many of whom were brought to experience the goodness of God."[68]

The journal accounts of his first Talbot meetings that summer of 1778 present an instructive picture of the primitive Methodism young Freeborn Garrettson embraced. In such a milieu the supernatural, apparitions and disembodied voices seemed very real to the participants as they were involved in a struggle with the devil for their very souls:[69]

> In this place the people, especially the society, were much alarmed, and stirred up by an uncommon voice, which was heard three evenings successively; and the last time several reputable persons were present. While they were at prayer, it exhorted them to pray mightily; and when one asked who it was, it replied, "I am a good spirit." The last time of its appearance, it seemed to be ascending.[70]

Garrettson departed Talbot in August but returned in early November to attend the Talbot quarterly meeting. On the way he stopped off at the home of Richard and Elizabeth Parrott, where he preached a sermon specifically directed at "two very dressy young women" who were there visiting relatives. Garrettson's message left the girls "wounded" and "crying for mercy."[71]

Two days later Garrettson returned to the Parrott farm, this time in the company of his brother Richard and Joseph Hartley. They were undoubtedly pleased to find the two young visitors of two days before "dressed very plain, and under deep distress." Also in attendance at the Parrott's that day was Dr. Edward White and his two sisters who had traveled from Delaware to attend the Quarterly Meeting. It is reasonable to assume that James Benson and Rachel Bruff also came to

[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 191.
[69] Garrettson, 87.
[70] Ibid., 88.
[71] Ibid., 104.

hear the preacher. That night about fifteen people participated in a six-hour prayer meeting that lasted until about two in the morning. Garrettson preached a message on John 16, and the company sang, exhorted, and prayed until Dr. White, his two sisters, and the two "dressy young women" were "set at liberty."[72]

It was at this Miles River Neck meeting that Joseph Hartley, then probably in his early twenties, had opportunity to meet Susannah Kininmont, the daughter of Elizabeth Parrott from her first marriage. Talbot County historians writing in the late nineteenth century have mistakenly placed the meeting at a place called Parrott's Point, not far from the village of St. Michaels, and these errors have been repeated in later works. Talbot County land, tax, and probate records confirm that Richard Parrot lived on a plantation in Miles River Neck that included the tract "Kininmont's Delight." Joseph Hartley found in the fifteen-year-old Susannah Kininmont many a good reason to visit in the following months, and visit he did. In the late summer of 1779, Hartley crossed the path of a local Talbot justice, and their meeting had consequences that reverberated well into the twentieth century and beyond.[73]

Jonathan Abell, originally a St. Mary's County planter, earlier in the decade had married a daughter of Philemon Hambleton, a moderately wealthy Talbot Countian, and taken up farming in Miles River Neck.[74] By the summer of 1779, he seemed to be well established in that the Council of Safety for the State of Maryland in May 1776 had appointed him a first lieutenant in the county militia. Over the next two years he was made overseer of the county road between Miles River ferry and lower Hunting Creek, suggesting that he lived in that area. In April 1778, Lieutenant Richard Parrott served, and six months later the state Council of Safety appointed him a county justice for 1779. From all appearances, Jonathan Abell had friends in high places, and life showed some promise.[75]

The particulars of how Abell and Hartley first met are not known. Perhaps on one of his visits to the Parrott farm the fervent young minister encountered the new justice of the peace and sought to preach to him. Out of the uncertainty that obscures the narrative one unerring fact emerges. In the high summer of 1779, Jonathan Abell haled Joseph Hartley before the Talbot County Court where the

[72] Ibid., 105.

[73] Tilghman, Vol. 2, 305–307. Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County* is a republishing of articles written by his father in law, St. Michael's resident Dr. Samuel A. Harrison. Harrison's mistaken conclusions are repeated in Thomas Sewell's manuscript history, *St. Michael's Methodism* (1894), and Dickson Preston, *Talbot County: A History*; Assessment of 1783, Talbot, MSA. Richard Parrott and Joseph Hartley are listed as living on parts of the same tracts of land in Miles River Neck of Island Hundred.

[74] *BDML*, I, 97; Will of John Abell, Sr., St. Mary's Will Book JJ, No.2, 95. Abell might have had some connection with the Gibsons of Miles River Neck.

[75] Talbot County Court, Road Record, 1745–1787; ArchMdOnline, 11: 438, 21: 25, 249–50.

itinerant was charged with preaching and teaching the gospel contrary to an act of the assembly and summarily clapped into the county gaol. Joseph Hartley's reaction to his incarceration became the stuff of Talbot County legend.[76]

Perhaps because he was no longer a stranger to a prison cell, Hartley quickly turned the concept of a captive audience upon its head. From between the bars of his cell, the young man reportedly preached to passers-by. Before long, Hartley attracted groups of the curious outside his cell window, much to the chagrin of the local leaders. During his almost three-month incarceration, it became customary for locals who had a concern for their eternal salvation "to assemble daily, to receive instruction from him as to how they could be saved." But Hartley had things on his mind other than simply preaching the gospel.[77]

In mid-September, Francis Asbury emerged from the safety of Delaware to visit Joseph Hartley in his captivity and found the impassioned preacher a prisoner, not merely to the Talbot Court but to the affections of the pious Susannah Kininmont as well. In fact, Hartley, "determined to marry . . . [believed it] his duty before God." Asbury advised his young friend to at least make bail before embarking on such a course, but he was called on an unusual mission before he could raise the money.[78]

Not long after he had led Hartley into captivity, Jonathan Abell fell seriously ill. As he languished on his sickbed, the stricken Talbot justice had considerable time to ruminate over his treatment of the Methodist preacher then cooling his heels, but not his tongue, in Talbot gaol. On the final day of September, Abell, despairing of life, dictated his last will and testament, unremarkable in its style or content unless one interprets his bequest of £30 to the neediest of the parish poor as an attempt to bargain with the Almighty. Apart from this feature, nothing else in his will gives any hint that Abell had powerful doubts about his late conduct and the salvation of his own soul.[79]

It is not certain just when, but probably after writing his will, Jonathan Abell called Joseph Hartley out of his cell and had the Methodist brought to his bedside. "When I sent you to gaol," the dying man said to the preacher, "I was fighting against God, and now I am about to leave the world—pray for me." Hartley was undoubtedly astonished at the turn of events. According to Freeborn Garrettson, who doubtless heard the story from Hartley himself, Abell then called his relatives into the room. "This is a servant of God," he announced to his incredulous family, "And when I die, I request he may preach at my funeral." Garrettson then

[76] Will of John Abell, Sr., Judgments, 11/1779 court. Jonathan Abell was the only appointed Talbot justice to die that year—his death coincides exactly with the Hartley story.
[77] Lednum, 232.
[78] Asbury, Vol. 1, 313.
[79] Talbot Will Book JB #3, 53–55; Garrettson, 148.

said that Abell commended his family into Hartley's care and beseeched them to embrace the faith of the preacher. Jonathan Abell died sometime before mid-November. Joseph Hartley seems to have been returned, albeit briefly, to jail, but with the aid of James Benson and a certain Thomas Harrison, he soon posted a £500 bond.[80]

Free and busy once more on his preaching circuit, Joseph Hartley wasted little time in performing his other "duty before God." In December 1779, he and Susannah Kininmont were married by the Reverend John Gordon—probably at the makeshift chapel of ease near Miles River Ferry. "I find the care of a wife begins to humble my young friend, and makes him very teachable," Asbury wrote in his journal, "I have thought he always carried great sail; but he will have ballast now." Almost twenty years later, an embittered Episcopal clergyman would recall Hartley as a trickster and opportunist who beguiled a young heiress into legitimate matrimony. There is no doubt that the preacher had married into moderate wealth. Both of Susannah's parents had brought considerable land holdings into their marriage, and Susannah was the principal heir to her father's estate.[81]

Meanwhile, St. Michael's vestry resumed their regular meetings, and on June 14, 1779, swore their allegiance to the State of Maryland, declared their belief in the Christian religion, and recited their collective oaths of office. The vestrymen ordered, in this first session, "that the Ornaments at Dundee Church be taken down for the better Preservation of them." Parish register Charles Gardiner stored the items, removed from the dilapidated chapel, in his house.[82]

The chapel at Dundee was not the only Anglican chapel in Talbot to suffer such decay. The parishes, no longer able to tax the residents for upkeep of buildings and clergy, had to rely instead on voluntary subscriptions and collected barely enough to sustain a single church and parson let alone a chapel of ease. As a result, the chapel in St. Peter's Parish suffered mightily in the period of the Revolution. Free-ranging stock had wandered in through open doors, and there was evidence

[80] By October 8, Hartley was preaching in Delaware, taking over for Francis Asbury who had returned to virtual hiding at Judge White's home. There is no evidence that Abell's family ever embraced Methodism. They appear, in fact, to have departed for St. Mary's County not long after Abell's estate was settled. The Hartley-Abell incident, however, conferred upon Hartley an aura of martyrdom and to Methodism in general, a providential sense of legitimacy—so much so that the Methodist society which sprang up afterward in Easton has been credited to the sermons which rang out from behind the iron bars of the Talbot gaol in that late summer of 1779.Garrettson, 148; Talbot Will Book JB3, 55; *Judgments*, 11/1779 court; Asbury, Vol. 1, 316. Abell's son, Philemon Hambleton Abell is mentioned in subsequent Talbot land records as being a resident of St. Mary's County, and later, back in Talbot.

[81] Asbury, Vol. 1, 325; Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, *Report of St. Peter's Parish*, June 1797, Statement of the Rev. Joseph Jackson; Assessment of 1783, Talbot County.

[82] VMSMP, 182–84, 192.

that some local carpenter had used it as a workshop. Before long, pieces of the chapel began showing up as "Covers for Goose Pens [and] Chicken Coops, as scaffoldings for new Buildings [and] a Store was said to be fitted up with the Shelves out of it." In the summer of 1797, Reverend Joseph Jackson could write that, "not the least Appearance of the Chapel remains." By comparison, the chapel at Dundee seems to have been more fortunate.[83]

The married Joseph Hartley continued as an active circuit rider until 1781, when his "full sail" was trimmed yet again. John Kininmont Hartley and Ann Edwards Hartley probably had much to do with their father's "location," the Methodist term for settling down. Land and tax records disprove Oswald Tilghman's statement, in his *History of Talbot County*, that "Hartley lived at Dundee," but Tilghman was perhaps not far off base. Francis Asbury's and Freeborn Garrettson's journals state clearly that a Methodist society was still using the not far distant Parrott-Hartley farmstead as a meeting place. What thoughts would come to the mind of a zealous minister of a fervent congregation, still somewhat friendly to the Church of England, as he passed by an abandoned house of worship in his neighborhood? A vacant church, even a dilapidated one, might have been powerfully attractive to a group of people weary of meeting in private houses, barns, and the open air, particularly a group with strong emotional, familial, and traditional attachments to such an edifice.[84]

Hartley, though settled, maintained contact with his Methodist friends, and his Miles River Neck Society continued to influence the development of Methodism in Talbot. In June 1783, James Benson and Richard Parrott gained appointment as two of the nine trustees of the land in the Bayside on which the first Methodist Meeting House was built.[85] Earlier that spring, Freeborn Garrettson, in the vicinity for a Quarterly Meeting, "was received with open arms among [his] dear Talbot friends." He wrote in his journal, "I was wonderfully glad to see the good old woman, Mrs. Parrot, well and steadily going on towards heaven." There is faint but tantalizing evidence to suggest that Garrettson appointed the neophyte Ezekiel Cooper as a class leader of the Miles River Neck Society. Cooper eventually became a successful preacher and leader of the Methodist Book Concern.[86]

[83] *Report of St. Peter's Parish*, June 1797.

[84] Tilghman, Vol. 2, 306.

[85] The Miles River Neck Methodists also donated three thousand feet of plank for the floors, doors, and seating in that new brick church. TLR, 21: 229–30. The other trustees were Joseph and Thomas Harrison, John Kersey, John MacDonald, Robert Lambdin, Joseph Denny and David Fairbank; Simpson, 226–227; Tilghman, II, 309.

[86] July 1783 found Garrettson preaching a Sunday morning sermon "at Brother Hartley's with great freedom." On another Sunday, October 5, 1783, Garrettson preached a morning sermon at "Brother Hartley's." Then the following Saturday, Francis Asbury "found some faithful people at brother Joseph Hartley's in Talbot." Freeborn Garrettson was visiting the Hartleys the same day. Later that day, Asbury and Garrettson spent the evening at James Benson's

James Benson had undoubtedly become friendly with Francis Asbury through their mutual association with Dr. Edward White. By 1780, the elder Benson had apparently shared with Asbury his fatherly concern for the soul of his son, Captain Perry Benson, then serving in the Continental Army. In the summer of that year, while Asbury was itinerating in southeastern Virginia, Perry Benson journeyed a dozen miles to visit with the preacher. "I wept over him, and exhorted him to seek the Lord," Asbury confided to his journal. "I felt an uncommon love for him, and a hope that God will bless and keep him alive in the day of battle." Asbury's hopes were answered. When hostilities ceased Perry Benson returned to Miles River Neck, a Revolutionary War hero with an affinity for Methodism.[87]

By Easter 1784, the Reverend Doctor John Gordon was feeling the financial pinch the Revolution had imposed on the Church of England. St. Michael's parishioners were evidently quite miserly when it came to the support of their minister. The congregation at Wye Church, however, in need of a minister, dangled the prospect of a "handsome subscription" before the clergyman for his attendance every third Sunday. This is the same period in which the Miles River Methodists became a recognizable subgroup of the parish, identified in a vestry ledger as "subscribers" on the Methodist List. Joseph Hartley, first on this list, pledged fifteen shillings a year for six years. His father-in-law and James Benson subscribed for a period of seven years. In all, they promised £4 and one shilling annually. Was this subscription a form of tacit rent for the use of Dundee Chapel or simply a show of good faith to the church that still held a monopoly over the sacraments so important to English Christianity?[88]

In November of that same year, the St. Michael's vestry appointed vestrymen John Bracco, Jeremiah Banning, and William Hindman to expose Dundee Chapel to public sale, "giving Twelve Months Credit to the Purchaser." Perhaps this advertisement was directed at the Miles River Neck Methodists, but such was the condition of parish finances that year that the vestry had been reduced to scavenging glass from the old chapel to pay for repairs on the Bayside Church. Vestry records suggest the parish could find no one interested in buying the chapel, almost certainly the result of events that unfolded in the latter part of the year.[89]

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home "in reading, conversation and prayer." Simpson, 220; George A. Phoebus, *Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America* (New York & Cincinnati, 1887), 19. Cooper states that Garrettson "appointed me to be class leader at friend P.'s in Talbot County. . . ."; Simpson, 220, 226; Asbury, Vol. 1, 447; Simpson, 231.

[87] Asbury, Vol. 1, 355.

[88] VMSMP, 198; St. Michael's Parish Vestry Book, Ledger B, 1747–1805, 29. The men listed were: Joseph Hartley, William Blake, Richard Parrott, William Start, Jonathan Sherwood, James Benson, John Blake, and Jonathan Hopkins.

[89] VMSMP, 203.

December 1784 was a momentous time for Methodists in the new United States. John Wesley had sent his representatives to the new nation with the goal of uniting the various American societies into a similarly independent new church. Freeborn Garrettson took it upon himself to announce the general meeting planned for Christmas Day in Baltimore and traveled for six weeks, over twelve hundred miles, through Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Close to sixty Methodist preachers thus attended the famed Christmas Conference at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was born. Joseph Hartley, a good friend of Garrettson, in all likelihood attended.[90]

The establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a body with ordained ministers, empowered to perform all the sacraments embraced by the Church of England, finalized the break with the Church of England in America. There can be little doubt that the zealous Methodists of Miles River Neck took it upon themselves to build their own meeting house to take the place of Dundee Chapel. Joseph and Susannah Hartley probably donated a corner of "Hopewell," situated on the road to Jacob Gibson's plantation, very close to his gate. This group had the lumber as well as the skill and labor to fashion it into a house of worship. James Benson, as noted earlier, had built the addition to the Bayside Church in the 1760s. When the first Methodist Meeting House on Miles River Neck was completed, most likely in 1785, this body of believers so closely associated with the old chapel found no difficulty christening it Dundee Methodist Chapel. This early edifice served the pioneering Methodists of Miles Neck for approximately twenty years.[91]

Unfortunately, Joseph Hartley did not live long enough to enjoy his new church. In the early days of January 1787, neighbors compiled an inventory of his estate. It is perhaps ironic that Hartley might have died within days of his father-in-law, as Richard Parrott's inventory is dated December 27, 1786. Neither Parrott nor Hartley left a will that could help determine the date or cause of their deaths. The proximity of their deaths, perhaps a coincidence, suggests that both might have fallen victim to the same accident or disease—both likely rest in the family's burial ground. [92]

[90] Simpson, 7; Williams, 67–68; Warren T. Smith, "The Christmas Conference," *Methodist History*, VI (July 1968). Smith attempts to reconstruct the Conference attendance, but does not mention Hartley, whose proximity to Baltimore, friendship with Garrettson, and exemplary zeal makes his absence from this crucial meeting inconceivable.

[91] E. C. Hallman, *The Garden of Methodism* (Delaware?, 1948), 338; TLR, 31, 302–06; "Hopewell" and Jacob Gibson's Gate; ArchMdOnline, 192: 1144–45, mentions "the old meeting-house near Mr. Gibson's Gate."

[92] It was not uncommon in this era for smallpox and yellow fever epidemics to sweep devastatingly through population clusters. Talbot Inventories, IB & GB, 174–76, 224–29; "Memo of Articles of Agreement between Richard Parrott of Georgetown and Edward Lloyd, Oct. 25,

Elizabeth Parrott and Rachel Bruff died shortly after Hartley and Parrott, and the absence of these early Methodist pioneers changed the character of their neighborhood. Freeborn Garrettson, passing through Miles River Neck in May 1787, commented in his journal, "This is a place where I have enjoyed many precious hours," he wrote, "but some of those who were very dear to me have gone into a world of sprits. Sister Parrott, her sister-Nancy and Sister Bruff are in Abraham's bosom. There are a few faithful souls left but individuals I fear have lost their first love." It is apparent that itinerant preachers placed high value on the maternal aspects of Christian piety and hospitality and undoubtedly enjoyed their benefits. It is also clear that the high mortality rate of the Parrott/Hartley families, combined with their inability to persist in Talbot County, assured that their story would rapidly recede in local memory.[93]

Epilogue

In 1790 Susannah Hartley married Methodist preacher Matthew Greentree. That December, Greentree, "in consideration of that common Right inherent in Human Nature which entitles all mankind to Freedom," manumitted the slave woman Grace and her son Robert, as did many conscience-stricken Methodists. In 1798, Greentree mortgaged the family farm and quickly fell into arrears. By December 1803 he and Susannah had sold much of their land and quit Talbot for Sussex County, Delaware. On March 13, 1806, however, they were back, for on this date Susannah died at the home of her old neighbor, Jacob Gibson. Aged forty-six, she had apparently outlived all of her children. Whatever remained of her lands went to her half-brother Richard Parrott, Jr., himself a Methodist preacher. Parrott ultimately sold these to Obadiah Garey and Edward Lloyd V. Not long after Susannah's death, Matthew Greentree joined his brother-in-law, the Rev. Richard Parrott, and his wife Jane at their Georgetown home. Freeborn Garrettson met with them there in the summer of 1809, calling them his "earliest friends."[94]

James Benson died in 1792, leaving his estate and lands to his son Perry in a will with an unusual imprimis among his Miles River contemporaries: "I resign my soul through the all Attoneing blood of the Lamb to its Creator in all Humble Hope of its future happiness." General Perry Benson, a pillar of Miles River Neck Methodism in the early nineteenth century died in 1827 and is buried at Wheatland,

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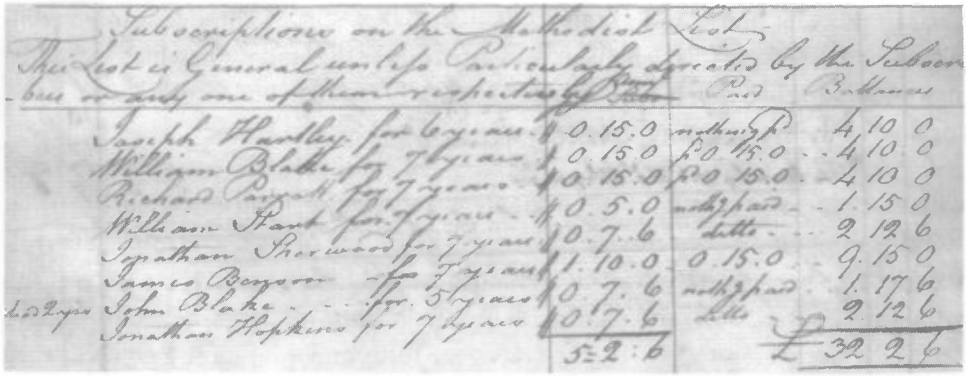
1810," MS2001, microfilm, Roll 1, MdHS. Contained here is mention of an acre-sized "graveyard" on "Kininmont's Delight."

[93] Simpson, 255; Rachel Bruff was still alive at Easter of 1784. See *Arminian Magazine*, 10 (London, 1787), 245.

[94] TLR, 24: 219–20; Howard Mullikin Ledger #27, page 26, Maryland Room, Talbot County Free Library, Easton, Md.; TLR, 31: 373–77; "Articles of Agreement, Richard Parrott of Georgetown and Edward Lloyd, Oct. 25, 1810"; Simpson, 312.



"Subscriptions on the Methodist List," Vestry Ledger Book, St. Michael's Parish Collection, MSA SC2635, Maryland State Archives.

his plantation in Miles River Neck.[95] William Bruff, the merchant son and executor of Captain Richard Bruff, married Catherine Ennalls, the niece of a Dorchester County judge and sister of Henry Ennalls. Freeborn Garrettson found the all-important hospitality required by the circuit rider in this family's homes, and two of the earliest Methodist chapels were built in Dorchester as a result.[96] William Bruff became a trustee of the Methodist Meeting House in Centreville when the congregation purchased land to build a church. By 1800, the Bruffs had relocated to Baltimore where their home became a central meeting place in the Great Revival which broke out at the General Conference of 1800. Two years later William died and Catherine returned to Dorchester County. Was Catherine Ennalls Bruff influenced by her pious mother-in-law, Rachel Bruff?[97]

By 1804, the Hartley's Meeting House was probably ready for replacement. In July of that year, Edward Lloyd V negotiated a land exchange with the trustees of

[95] Talbot Will Book JB #4, 230–33.

[96] Henry Boehm, *Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical of Rev. Henry Boehm* (New York, 1875), 43; Garrettson, 140–41; Hallman, 302, 305, Airey's Chapel was built between Cambridge and Vienna around 1790. Ennalls' Chapel was built at Salem around 1797.

[97] Catherine Ennalls Bruff is generally credited with being instrumental in the introduction of Methodism, not only to her family, but to the whole of Dorchester County. Garrettson suggests that Catherine was converted to Methodism when visiting either Queen Anne's or Dover. Her sister Anne was the first wife of Delaware governor Richard Bassett. Their other sister Mary was related somehow to Dorchester gentleman Thomas Hill Airey. This troika of sisters seemed possessed of an unusual talent for spreading the Methodist message to their respective spouses and other relatives. QALR, R T #H, 389; Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), 130, 276; *QALR*, SSW #3, 34; Boehm, 35–43; Asbury, Vol. 3, 257; For more about Wm. Bruff, see *BDML*, I, 177–78. Bruff at the time of his death apparently owed Francis Asbury £600, a fact Asbury lamented.

the old meeting house and granted Obadiah Garey, son of Dundee warden John Garey (1758), General Perry Benson, and three others the land upon which to build a new Methodist Meeting House. Dundee Methodist Church, built around 1805, stood for approximately seventy-five years at the present Meeting House Corner.[98]

What of the original Dundee Chapel? St. Michael's Parish vestry records indicate that glass panes, planking, and nails were salvaged from the chapel in 1784, but this might have been merely from the dismantling of a gallery. In August 1791, Charles Gardiner, purchaser of its remains, entered into a twelve-year lease of the adjoining "Pattingham" and nearby "Skinner's Swineyard," lands he seems to have farmed since at least 1783. In June of 1792, John and Margaret Ferguson sold "Pattingham" and "Skinner's Swineyard" to Richard Tilghman, Jr. In the fall of 1793, Charles Gardiner fell gravely ill, possibly with the yellow fever that had ravaged the Upper Peninsula. Charles Gardiner died in January 1794. By 1830 the chapel property had passed into the hands of the Lowndeses of Wye. The William H. Dilworth map of 1858 features the representation of a building on what might very well have been the location of the chapel. An 1877 map of Miles River Neck identifies the structure as a possession of Dr. C. Lowndes. Perhaps the chapel had been allowed to decay, relatively unmolested before the land was given over to agriculture.[99]

Until 1831 the Dundee Chapel site remained under consideration for its replacement. The vestry, however, maintained their desire to build the new chapel at Miles River Ferry. The Lloyd and Lowndes families, who owned both properties, preferred the closer location and opposed construction at the ferry site. In early 1834, the Lowndeses finally relented and gave the vestry the land on the west side of the ferry. Construction began shortly thereafter and was completed in late 1838. This is the stone and brick ruin that presently tumbles down on the north east side of the Miles River Bridge.[100]

A person standing today on the south side of Todd's Corner Road, at a point roughly a half mile east of Meeting House Corner in Talbot County, Maryland, would have little idea that he or she was near a spot the Church of England once hallowed. Time prevailed, obscuring any sign of Dundee Chapel. It is hoped that one day a suitable marker might be erected at this place to remind subsequent

[98] *TLR*, 30: 30–32; *Easton Star Democrat* (Easton, Md.), March 4, 1911; Hallman, 338, 341; *Annual Minutes of the Wilmington Conference: 1882*, 26, 32.

[99] Francis Asbury, passing through Easton in late September of that year, mentioned that "sickness prevails in every house. . . ." TLR, 24: 382–84; Talbot Land Commissions, 1785–1793, 57; TLR, 24: 531; Talbot Will Book JB #4, 293–96; Asbury, Vol. 1, 771–72; Talbot Will Book JP #6, 259–263; TLR, 44: 417; William H. Dilworth, *Map of Talbot County with Farm Limits*, (1858); *An Illustrated Atlas of Talbot & Dorchester Counties, Maryland. By Lake, Griffing & Stevenson* (Philadelphia, 1877), Easton, District 1.

[100] VMSMP, 1802–1851, 108, 112–13, 125–26.

generations of this old chapel of ease where Miles River Neck residents of ages past—including some of the most important men and women of their day—worshipped, socialized, and worked. Yet as this study shows, Dundee Chapel did not simply pass away. Certain Miles River Neck families served as Dundee Chapel church wardens and found themselves, in the aftermath of the Revolution, profoundly changed through the rise of Methodism on the Delmarva Peninsula. Through persuasive family ties, maternal hospitality, and the dogged perseverance of charismatic circuit riders, Methodism flourished in Easton, St. Michaels, and across the Choptank in Dorchester County. And on Miles River Neck, where the earliest fires of primitive Methodism in Talbot once burned brightly, this aging Anglican chapel of ease brought forth two Methodist churches that served their people for well over a hundred years. It is fitting that such a time and place be remembered.

"Making No Child's Play of the Question": Governor Hicks and the Secession Crisis Reconsidered

TIMOTHY R. SNYDER

By April 29, 1861, only three days after it had convened, the extra session of the Maryland General Assembly declared that it had no authority to consider an ordinance of secession. It suggested that it might call a convention of delegates to debate the issue but took no steps to form one. Instead the Senate debated the so-called Public Safety Bill, a measure intended to dilute the authority of the governor and deliver control of the state's defense and militia into the hands of pro-South men. Ultimately, the bill was referred back to committee, never to re-emerge. When the first extra session adjourned on May 14, the legislature had not passed any bills leading to secession, even though a majority of its members were southern-leaning.[1]

Ever since the General Assembly declined to secede, refused to convene a citizens' convention, and failed to pass the infamous Public Safety Bill, historians have tried to explain why it did not do so, given its political makeup. Information widely available shows that members of the General Assembly who supported southern secession had no intention of considering the first two options but desired the immediate establishment of a Board of Public Safety as the most expeditious means of resisting the passage of U.S. volunteers through Maryland and cooperating with the Confederacy. Additionally, evidence suggests that the movement of troops to Washington, D.C., via Annapolis and later Baltimore was but one of several factors contributing to the legislature's failure to take any significant action against the federal government. Widespread opposition to the Public Safety Bill and border incursions by Virginia troops stationed at Harper's Ferry influenced the General Assembly's actions. Most importantly, Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks, exercising his power as chief executive and commander-in-chief of the Maryland militia, took measures that undermined the secession movement in Maryland.

[1] This manuscript had its origin in another paper entitled "The Union Home Guard Movement: Western Maryland's Response to Secession," that the author presented at Catoctin Crossroads: A Conference on Folk Traditions and History in Mid-Maryland, Frederick Community College, Frederick, Md., October 1, 2004.

The author, a past contributor to this journal, recently completed a history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company's struggle to survive the Civil War years.

Following the presidential election and the secession of seven states of the Deep South over the winter of 1860–1861, Hicks resisted repeated calls to convene the General Assembly, which met biannually and was not due to meet again until 1862. He had no sympathy for those who wished Maryland to cooperate with the South and rebuffed all diplomatic overtures from the seceded states. In April the crisis deepened into war with South Carolina's firing on Fort Sumter (April 12), President Lincoln's call for 75,000 three-month volunteers to suppress the rebellion, and the decision of four more states, including Maryland's immediate neighbor, Virginia, to secede. On April 18 the first U.S. volunteers passed through Baltimore on their way to protect the nation's capital. The next day, the 6th Massachusetts Infantry clashed with secessionists in Baltimore, who assaulted them with rocks, paving stones and pistols. In what became known as the Pratt Street Riot, the soldiers returned fire, spilling the first blood of the Civil War. Four soldiers and twelve citizens died, and scores more were wounded.

As a result of the disturbance, Hicks's resolve in dealing with the secessionists wavered. On the day of the bloodshed, he stated publicly that he would rather lose his right arm than strike a sister state of the South, and he acquiesced that evening in the burning of railroad bridges north of Baltimore to prevent additional troops from entering the city by rail. The governor also asked that Lincoln refrain from sending more troops through the city. The president agreed and instead established a route from Perryville down the Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis. Over Hicks' objections, General Benjamin F. Butler landed at Annapolis with the 8th Massachusetts and repaired the broken railroad link to Washington. More U.S. volunteers followed and proceeded to the nation's capital.

After the assault on the 6th Massachusetts, secessionists and others in Maryland exerted great pressure on Hicks to convene the General Assembly. Facing the excited condition of Baltimore and extralegal efforts to convene the legislature, Hicks called them into extra session on April 26. Because Butler's troops were in Annapolis, Hicks on the twenty-fourth directed the General Assembly to convene in Frederick, a centrally located town with a strong base of pro-Union citizens.

The 1861 Maryland General Assembly had been elected two years earlier, before the secession crisis had come to a head, and the legislators had not been chosen for their position on secession. Accordingly, the stance of its members defies regional classification. Senator Thomas J. McKaig, for example, a leader of the pro-South majority in the upper chamber, hailed from strongly unionist Allegany County with a slave population of only 2 percent. Conversely, Senator Henry H. Goldsborough of Talbot, a county with a population that was 25 percent enslaved, was a leader of the Senate's pro-Union minority. Similar incongruities existed in the lower chamber.[2]

[2] Having been settled first, Maryland's southern and Eastern Shore counties historically held

On the eve of the Civil War, Maryland's strongest slave-holding counties had disproportionate influence in the General Assembly. In 1860, Maryland's thirteen counties with slave populations over 10 percent had 23.8 percent of the state's white population, but 43.2 percent of the delegates in the House. The five counties with the highest percentage of slaves (Anne Arundel, St. Mary's, Calvert, Prince Georges, and Charles) had only 7.4 percent of the white population, but 16 percent of the delegates. These strong slave-holding counties derived their over-representation largely at the expense of Baltimore city, whose representation was capped by the constitution. In 1860 Baltimore had 35.8 percent of the state's white population, but only 13.5 percent of the House delegates. [3]

As this General Assembly had not been elected to specifically address the secession crisis, many Marylanders felt that its citizens should elect delegates to a sovereign convention that would address the great issue of the day. Even future Confederate brigadier-general Bradley T. Johnson, a Frederick lawyer, admitted that this legislature had "no mandate for revolutionary times."[4]

On April 26 the General Assembly convened in Frederick and, to the surprise of some, immediately declared that it would not vote to determine whether the

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the greater share of political power and only reluctantly and grudgingly surrendered bits of it as Baltimore and the northern and western counties surpassed them in population. At the 1850 constitutional convention, in which each county's representation was equal to its number of delegates and senators, the southern and Shore counties had given up some political power to the more populous counties but only in exchange for protection of their interests, specifically slavery. A county's total population—including slaves and free blacks—determined its representation in the House of Delegates, boosting the influence of counties with larger numbers of blacks. The older and traditionally powerful counties were suspicious of Baltimore's merchant class and its large immigrant population. As a result, Baltimore's representation in the House was capped at four more than the next most populous county. Baltimore and the counties' representation in the 1850 constitutional convention was specified in chapter 346, section 4 of Maryland General Assembly, *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, at a Session Begun and Held at the City of Annapolis, on Monday, the 31st Day of December 1849, and Ended on Saturday, the 9th Day of March 1850* (Annapolis: William M'Neir, printer, 1850). For representation in the House of Delegates as a result of the 1850 Constitutional Convention, see article 3, section 3, Constitution of 1851. The General Assembly was prohibited from "abolishing the relation of master or slave, as it now exists in this State," in article 3, section 43, of the Constitution of 1851. For a look at the debates that culminated in the Constitution of 1851, see James Warner Harry, *The Maryland Constitution of 1851*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 20, nos. 7–8 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902).

[3] Statistics calculated using 1860 U.S. Census data from University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, *United States Historical Census Data Browser*. 1998. University of Virginia; available at: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/. [accessed November 22, 2004].

[4] Bradley T. Johnson, *Maryland*, vol. 2, *Confederate Military History*, ed. Clement A. Evans (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Co., 1899), 25.

state would secede, and the following day the Senate passed a unanimous resolution declaring that it had no legal authority to do so. "We cannot but know that a large proportion of the citizens of Maryland have been induced to believe that there is a probability that our deliberations may result in the passage of some measure committing this State to Secession," the Senate observed. "It is, therefore, our duty to declare that all such fears are without just foundation. We know that we have no constitutional authority to take such action. You need not fear that there is a possibility that we will do so." Instead, the Senate suggested that it might provide for a sovereign convention to decide Maryland's allegiance. "We may go thus far, but certainly will not go farther," it wrote.[5]

The House of Delegates passed a similar resolution. On April 29, 216 voters in Prince George's County presented a memorial to the House urging the delegates to pass a secession ordinance. The measure was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. That same day the committee reported to the whole House that the "Legislature does not possess the power to pass such an ordinance as is prayed."[6]

The lower house entertained motions to call for a citizen's convention and on April 27 appointed a committee to prepare an act "to provide for the call of a Sovereign Convention of the people of Maryland." Two days later the committee presented their bill before the House, but it was referred immediately to the Committee on Federal Relations from which it never emerged. Later petitions from citizens calling for the establishment of a special convention were also referred to the same committee, where they too died.[7] The Senate took even less action toward a convention. In April no senator moved to create such a body, nor did anyone introduce petitions from citizens calling for one. From the beginning the General Assembly displayed no intention of voting to secede or of calling a citizen's convention to determine if the state would join the South.

The Public Safety Bill

Former U.S. Senator James M. Mason of Virginia was in Frederick during that first week of the General Assembly's extra session when he disingenuously stated to the public that he was in town "accidentally" and could only speak of Virginia's affairs. In truth, he worked as Virginia Governor John Letcher's emissary and on the recommendation of the governor's advisory council had come to "ascertain the condition of affairs and the state of public opinion."[8]

[5] Senate, *Journal of Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland, in Extra Session, April, 1861* (Frederick: Beale H. Richardson, printer, 1861), 8.

[6] House of Delegates, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, in Extra Session* (Frederick: Elihu S. Riley, 1861), 19, 21.

[7] Ibid., 9, 11, 19, 20, 96, 111.

[8] *New York Times*, April 29, 1861, and *Frederick Herald*, April 30, 1861; Emanuel Bowen, *A New*

He first went to Baltimore and met with former governors Thomas G. Pratt and Philip Francis Thomas, former congressman Robert M. McLane, state Senate President John B. Brooke, and House Speaker Eldridge G. Kilbourn, all of whom were sympathetic with the South. On April 25, after his consultations with pro-South Marylanders, Mason wrote to Letcher, "I am assured that the Legislature in both branches is sound, & that measures will be taken immediately after they assemble, to place the authority of the State in hands *ready* & *competent* to act with Virginia in the present emergency" [emphasis in original].[9]

When the General Assembly convened in Frederick on April 26, Mason went there as well and continued to meet with sympathetic legislators. He learned, however, that the state would not openly secede from the Union. On May 1, after a week in Maryland, Mason was back in Richmond meeting with Confederate officials, including Edmund Ruffin, an agriculturalist, editor, and southern nationalist. On May 1, Ruffin recorded in his diary that Mason believed Maryland would resist the federal government and "effect what would be *equivalent to secession*" [emphasis added], but because U.S. volunteers were stationed along the railroad between Annapolis and Washington, and because southern supporters lacked arms, the General Assembly would not secede "in a formal & regular manner." Mason had learned that the southern-leaning legislature had another plan in mind. Ruffin wrote, "[Mason] supposed that the legislature will appoint a 'Committee of Public Safety,' invested with abundant funds & undefined (e.g. dictatorial) powers."[10]

The creation of a Committee of Public Safety was in the minds of pro-South Marylanders throughout the winter and early spring. Modeled after such bodies formed prior to the Revolution to provide for the colonies' defense from the British, it was openly discussed as a means of quickly mobilizing the state's militia to defend the state and cooperate with the Confederacy. As early as 1858 Alabamian

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and Accurate Map of Virginia & Maryland, 1747. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Records of the Unioin and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1920). Mason was a Winchester resident who would gain notoriety on November 8, 1861, when he and fellow Confederate Commissioner John Slidell were seized from the ship *Trent* while on their way to negotiate with England for that country's recognition and support of the Confederacy.

[9] Mason to Davis, May 6, 1861, in Jefferson Davis, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 7, 1861*, Lynda Lasswell Crist & Mary Seaton Dix, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 149. Mason to Letcher, April 25, 1861, box 9, Letters Received, Governor Letcher, Office of the Governor, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

[10] Edmund Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vol. 2, The Years of Hope, April 1861–June, 1863*, William Kauffman Scarborough, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 15. Bradley T. Johnson wrote that Mason appeared before the General Assembly "as a commissioner from the State of Virginia authorized to conclude a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two States." See Johnson, *Maryland*, 25.

William Lowndes Yancey had suggested that the cotton states form "Committees of Safety" to lead the lower South into secession.[11]

In his consultations with sympathetic lawmakers, Mason also discussed providing military support to Maryland. Mason advised, however, that Virginia would only provide arms to an official state authority, not a mere assemblage of secessionists, making some action toward secession necessary by Maryland if it wanted military assistance. In a May 6 letter to Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Mason wrote, "after much consultation, i[t] was agreed, that a committee of publ[ic] safety should be appointed by the Legisla[ture] to be charged in general terms with the defense & safety of the State, & not less th[an] two millions of dollars placed under th[e] control of the committee to that end—if this was done, I said I felt the most confident assurance, that not only Virginia alone, but the Confederate states would furnish arms to such committee as fa[r] as in their power, & not arms only, but assistance in every form to advance that cause they would then have in commo[n]."[12]

Upon the convening of the extra session, pro-Confederate legislators began to put their plans into action. On April 27, the same day the Senate declared it had no authority to secede, the House of Delegates authorized a committee to prepare a bill that would have appropriated $2 million to place the state "in a complete condition of organization and defence." Furthermore, the funds were to be expended not necessarily within the existing militia system but "under such direction as the General Assembly may hereafter provide." Certainly this was the source of the "abundant funds" that Mason mentioned to Ruffin, a figure that matches the "two millions of dollars" that Mason wrote of to Jefferson Davis.[13]

On May 1 the upper chamber went into secret session and Baltimore senator Coleman Yellot introduced "an act to provide for the Safety and Peace of the people of Maryland." Senator Anthony Kimmel of Frederick County maintained

[11] See, for example, Kimmel to Hicks, January 26, 1861, MS 1313, Thomas Holliday Hicks Papers, 1860–1862, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. [hereinafter MdHS]; *New York Times*, April 29, 1861. Yancey quoted in David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861*, Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1976), 465.

[12] Mason to Davis, May 6, 1861, in Davis, *Papers of Jefferson Davis*, 7:149. Bradley T. Johnson also wrote that the General Assembly never planned to secede openly since Virginia had delayed so long in its decision. "But they did hope for action," he wrote, "a league offensive and defensive with Virginia.... They introduced into the legislature a bill to provide for a committee of safety to be elected by the legislature, to which should be committed the duty of defending the State and her people and to exercise all the powers of government.... The plan of the projectors of the committee of safety was to arm the militia." See Johnson, *Maryland*, 35–36.

[13] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 23. Within days after convening, the House and Senate also approved an ordinance passed by the Baltimore mayor and council to raise $500,000 for the defense of the city. See House of Delegates, *Journal*, 10, 13, 36; Senate, *Journal*, 13, 14.

that the state constitution did not authorize secret sessions, but Senate president Brooke of Prince Georges County declined to accede to Kimmel's point. The Senate adjourned to review the bill. Clearly most senators were uncomfortable meeting in secret session. The following day the Senate voted to print one hundred copies of the bill for distribution and to consider the measure in open session.[14]

The Public Safety Bill, as originally written, would have given control of the state's militia and defense to a seven-member board, six of whom were southern-leaning state leaders, including two former governors, Enoch Louis Lowe and Thomas G. Pratt. Mason was known to have met with the latter in his mission to the state. Although current governor Thomas Hicks was included as a member of the board "for the time being, or whoever may be lawfully acting in the capacity," a majority of the board could override his power to command the state militia, authority given him under the Constitution of 1851. The board could also remove or appoint any militia officer above the rank of captain, reorganize and arm the state forces, and "provide for the protection, safety, peace and defense of the State." The board had the authority to fill any vacancies that occurred in its membership. Members would serve until one month after the beginning of the next regular session of the General Assembly, unless a sovereign convention was called, in which case the board would be subject to the convention, which had power to remove any or all members. Board members were required to take an oath to only appoint militia officers or other officials based on their fitness for the post, not their political affiliation, although since six board members were known to support Maryland's secession it is all but certain they would have appointed like-minded military officers. The law also repealed twenty-five sections of the Maryland Code of Public Laws with which it was in conflict, mostly provisions that defined the authority of the governor over the militia.[15]

A minority of conservative senators strongly opposed the bill's passage and when that seemed assured, did all they could to weaken it. They proposed amendments that would have stricken the names of known secessionists from the bill and substituted the names of moderates and Unionists. Senator Kimmel attempted to neutralize the board by proposing an amendment that would have stricken that section of the bill that defined the board's powers, thus making it an advisory body. Henry H. Goldsborough of Talbot County offered an amendment that would have prevented the board from using any money "for the arming of the military forces of this State and for the formation of any alliance offensive or defensive, with any other State in this Confederacy." Both measures were defeated.[16]

[14] *Secret Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland in Extra Session, 1861*, 3–6, in Senate, *Journal*.
[15] A copy of the original "Public Safety Bill" was re-printed in the May 8, 1861, *Frederick Examiner*. The governor was designated "commander in chief of the land and naval forces of the State" by article 2, section 9 of the Constitution of 1851.
[16] Senate, *Journal*, 32, 39–40, 43, 45–46, 54, 57–58.

Tensions developed between senators for and against the bill. On May 3, Kimmel sarcastically proposed an amendment that instead of appointing seven officials to a "Board of Public Safety" would have installed them as a "Military Despotism." John E. Smith of Carroll County proposed an amendment that would have appointed the seven men to a "Committee to plunge the State of Maryland into secession by indirection by force of arms."[17]

Senate opponents of the legislation attempted to counter the authoritarian features of the Public Safety Bill with democracy. On May 3, John G. Stone of Washington County proposed that the Senate recommit the bill to committee and instead convene a "convention of the People," the only senator in the extra session to call for the establishment of a sovereign convention. Smith of Carroll presented an amendment that would have subjected all acts passed by the board to ratification by the people at a special election. Goldsborough proposed that the citizens elect six members of the board rather than have the General Assembly choose them. All of the measures were defeated.[18]

On May 4, without explanation, the Public Safety Bill was referred back to committee, not to be brought before the Senate again. All three means by which the General Assembly might have resisted the federal government—by voting to secede, by calling a sovereign convention, or by the passage of the Public Safety Bill—had failed, the first two options having been eschewed by the legislature in favor of the last. It is important to note that at this point U.S. volunteers had occupied Annapolis and repaired the railroad to Washington. The troops would not reach Relay House, the railroad junction outside of Baltimore, until the next day, and no troops would take positions in Baltimore until May 13.[19]

The presence of U.S. troops in Maryland and the supposition that they would eventually move to pacify Baltimore certainly had some affect on the General Assembly and its failure to pass the Public Safety Bill. Yet on the day the bill was recommitted the state was by no means under the firm control of northern volunteers, nor was the General Assembly surrounded by hostile troops as some writers have stated. Maryland's southern border with Virginia was entirely open, except for the hindrance that Confederate pickets placed in the way of crossing the Potomac. Frederick was actually geographically closer to the Confederates at Harpers Ferry than to the U.S. soldiers at Annapolis and on the railroad leading to Washington. In fact, at least one delegation of about forty members of the General Assembly toured the Confederate outpost at Harpers Ferry on May 11. Other factors influenced the General Assembly's decision to recommit the Public Safety Bill to committee indefinitely.[20]

[17] Ibid., 42.
[18] Ibid., 43, 45, 56–57.
[19] Ibid., 67.
[20] A journalist accompanied the General Assembly delegation to Harpers Ferry. See *Balti-*

Once details of the bill spread to the public, memorials against it poured in from many parts of the state. Although the petitions were not representative of the entire state, their sheer volume, coupled with the adamant tone of many, helped to put a brake on the bill. At the beginning of the May 4 session, Senator Stone presented a petition from 271 Washington County citizens opposed to the Senate's secret sessions. Kimmel introduced a memorial from 166 citizens of Frederick County against the Public Safety Bill "as a military despotism," and another from 288 citizens of the same county "most earnestly . . . protesting against the unconstitutional, arbitrary, illegal and despotic measure." He presented another from fifty-nine residents of Cecil County, "protesting in the name of humanity and for the sake of the people, that they will not submit to the appointment of the proposed committee of 'Public Safety.'" Some petitions arrived from strong slave-holding regions of the state, including Anne Arundel and Talbot counties. At least twenty memorials against the bill were introduced in the Senate.[21]

Assuming that the bill would pass the Senate, citizens sent even more memorials opposing it to the House of Delegates. Protests were recorded from Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Howard, Baltimore, Harford, Cecil, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Kent Counties, and Baltimore City. Multiple petitions from different groups of citizens were received from several of the counties. The House received at least twenty-three memorials opposed to the bill.[22]

Neither chamber presented a citizen's petition that urged passage of the bill. Such was the unpopularity of the bill that after the Senate had sent it back to committee many pro-South legislators—including McKaig and Baltimore delegate Severn Teackle Wallis—began to disavow any support for it, even though this was the vehicle by which their leaders had chosen to oppose the government.[23]

The General Assembly was also distracted by other matters that caused it to take its eye off of its objective of cooperating with the South. The Virginia troops who had seized Harpers Ferry from U.S. soldiers on April 18 were undisciplined,

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more American and Commercial Advertiser, May 15, 1861. See also Mary Anna Jackson, *Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson* (Louisville, Ky.: Prentice Press, 1895), 155–56. Delegate Ross Winans was also reported to have visited the Confederates at Harpers Ferry in *New York Times*, May 15 and 16, 1861. At least one other member of the General Assembly had a meeting with a Confederate officer from Harpers Ferry. After Bradley T. Johnson led his military company to the Ferry, he concocted a plan to kidnap Hicks "and thus break up the State government and throw it into the hands of the legislature." Johnson sent notice to the pro-South members of the General Assembly, who dispatched Delegate T. Parkin Scott to Maryland Heights to meet with him. Scott told Johnson that the General Assembly wanted no part of his plans, however, and Johnson dropped the idea. See, Johnson, *Maryland*, 36–37.

[21] Senate, *Journal*, 61, 63, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 80, 83, 92, 120.

[22] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 70, 72, 73, 83, 85, 95, 104, 111, 112.

[23] *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 10, 1861; S. Teackle Wallis, *Corre-*

and their commanders ignored the political consequences of violating Maryland's borders. The Confederates made numerous raids and incursions onto Maryland soil that aroused the animosity of Marylanders and drew the attention of the General Assembly. The raids and occupation of Maryland's territory compelled the legislature to consider complaints and petitions from its citizens who had lost property and from legislators who felt that the state's sovereignty had been violated. Although Virginia had actively sought the cooperation and secession of Maryland, the politically naive conduct of its troops and officers undermined its efforts. In early May the legislators sent a commissioner to Virginia to ameliorate grievances, which had the effect of pitting the two states against one another as adversaries. Instead of discussing mutual goals and cooperation, the two states conferred about border violations and negotiated compensation for damages.[24]

Hicks's Efforts to Prevent Maryland's Secession

In his 1901 monograph, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War*, George L. Radcliffe described Hicks's refusal to convene the General Assembly during the early days of the secession crisis as "masterly inactivity." Radcliffe believed that Hicks's belated decision to call the legislature together, only after the April 19 disturbance had occurred, denied that body the time necessary to pass some measure that would have led to the secession of the state. After the fact, Hicks agreed. In December 1861 he wrote that his refusal to convene the lawmakers until late April "accomplished my full purpose. The State would not secede and bloodshed was averted from our soil."[25]

If Hicks's actions before April 20 were characterized by "inactivity," the measures he took immediately after were anything but inactive. Although Hicks is sometimes portrayed as a weak and vacillating man who was powerless amidst the great events that occurred, following the Pratt Street Riot he took a number of bold and resolute steps that hampered the state's secessionists and helped ensure that the General Assembly would not pass the Public Safety Bill. If he had simply allowed the legislature to follow its own course, it may have indeed passed the bill and begun cooperating with the Confederacy in some official manner.

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spondence between S. Teackle Wallis, Esq., of Baltimore, and the Hon. John Sherman, of the U.S. Senate, concerning the arrest of members of the Maryland Legislature, and the Mayor and police commissioners of Baltimore, in 1861 (Baltimore: n.p., [1863]), 28.

[24] For a discussion of Confederate border incursions and their impact on Maryland-Virginia relations, see Timothy R. Snyder, "Border Strife on the Upper Potomac: Confederate Incursions From Harpers Ferry, April–June 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 97 (2002): 79–108.

[25] Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks*, 55; [Thomas H. Hicks], *Message of the Governor of Maryland, to the General Assembly. Special Session, December, 1861*, Document A (Annapolis: Thomas J. Wilson, 1861), 5.

Even before Hicks convened the General Assembly, he was concerned that secessionists in the state might foment violence. On January 25, 1861, he wrote to Winfield Scott, general-in-chief of the U.S. Army, asking if the government would lend Maryland two thousand rifles in the event of trouble on March 4, the day Lincoln was to be inaugurated. Despite $70,000 spent on the purchase of arms the previous year, state law required that Maryland's adjutant general disperse the weapons to military companies throughout the counties, which left the state with no significant stockpile for an emergency. After Lincoln's inauguration, Hicks noticed an increase in secessionist excitement in the state. On March 18 he repeated his request to Scott for two thousand rifles. "I am strongly inclined to believe that a spirit of insubordination is increasing," he wrote, fearing violence should Virginia's convention vote to secede. Scott endorsed Hicks's request and passed it on to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, who promised to provide the arms should an emergency arise.[26]

On April 17, the day Virginia's convention voted to secede, Hicks took steps to supply the government with Maryland's quota of troops as requested by the president. He asked the secretary of war to provide state Assistant Adjutant General John R. Kenly with enough weapons to arm four regiments of state militia. After the Pratt Street fracas, Hicks delayed supplying the government with state troops and began to advocate neutrality.[27]

Despite his public call for neutrality, the governor soon began to work against the secession movement and began again to cooperate with the Lincoln Administration. One of his earliest actions was to secure the federal armory in Pikesville. The installation's commanding officer, Colonel Benjamin Huger, had resigned from the U.S. Army to join the Confederacy, and at some point following the Pratt Street Riot a company of pro-South militia from Baltimore County had taken possession of the armory. Hicks, who had been advised that the "mob" might destroy the property, sent loyal state militia under Colonel Edward R. Petherbridge "to pro-

[26] Hicks to Scott, January 25, 1861, Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 177, MSA SM170-3, M3169, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md. [hereinafter MSA]. See also Hicks's February 13, 1861, testimony before a House of Representatives Select Committee of Five, U.S. Congress, *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, Made During the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, 1860–'61*, vol. 2, Report No. 79 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), 166–178; *O.R.*, I, 51, pt. 1: 317–18.

[27] *O.R.*, I, 51, pt. 1: 326–27; ibid., I, 2: 581; Hicks to Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates, April 25, 1861, Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 206. Only after the Maryland General Assembly had adjourned its first extra session on May 14 did Hicks resume his effort to supply the government with four regiments of state troops. The secretary of war subsequently declared that three-month volunteers were no longer needed but pointed out that the president had issued a second call for troops willing to serve three years and had appointed an officer, James Cooper of Frederick, to enroll Marylanders in the three-year units. See *O.R.*, Series 3, vol. 1, 199, 210.

ceed with sufficient force, and occupy the premises in the name of the United States Government." When General Butler learned of the facility's vulnerability he requested Pennsylvania governor Andrew G. Curtin to send troops to take possession of the armory but called off the requisition on learning that the "insurgents" had presumably surrendered the installation to the force Hicks had sent.[28]

Hicks was also concerned about concentrating too many weapons under the control of a disloyal militia officer. In late April he ordered the armorer at the Easton depository to give one hundred stand of arms to a state agent who would deliver them to the St. Michael's district, a jurisdiction in Talbot County of strong unionist sentiment. Major General Tench Tilghman, the commander of the Second Division, Maryland Militia, wrote to Hicks and protested the order, offering to provide the district with forty stand of arms as soon as the military companies there "present their applications through officers who are known to be opposed to the invasion of our State by Northern Troops." On May 3, Hicks sternly commanded a subordinate officer to comply with his order.[29]

Hicks also learned that, without orders, Tilghman had begun to prepare his division to resist the advance of U.S. volunteers from the northern states. Throughout the winter and early spring a Talbot County citizens' committee, of which Tilghman was a member of the executive committee, had met periodically to consider the secession crisis. After the outbreak of hostilities in Baltimore, the committee declared Maryland a southern state and resolved to defend the county against an expected invasion by northern troops. It voted to form a Committee of Public Safety and to assess taxes on county property to raise money for arms. Upon Tilghman's motion, the committee had passed a resolution requiring all young men to enroll in military companies for service anywhere in the state, and all old men to enroll in companies for service within the county.[30]

Hicks was alarmed at the unauthorized military preparation underway in Talbot County, especially the role played by Tilghman who, as a state militia officer, had no authority to mobilize troops without orders from the governor. In addition, Hicks learned that Tilghman had seized the U.S. customs house in Ox-

[28] According to Bradley T. Johnson, the Garrison Forest Rangers, commanded by Capt. Wilson Carey Nicholas, seized the Pikesville Arsenal. See Johnson, *Maryland*, 23; Hicks to Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates, April 25, 1861, in Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 205; *O.R.*, I, 2: 598–99. See also House of Delegates, *Journal*, 68. Petherbridge later enlisted in the Purnell Legion, a Union infantry regiment from Baltimore.

[29] Tilghman, Thomas, Hambleton & Strandberg to Hicks, n.d., in Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 211–12; Extract from the Proceedings of the "Committee of Safety" of Talbot County, n.d., in Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 212–13; Hicks to Thomas, May 3, 1861, in Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 215. For documentation of the strong Unionist sentiment in St. Michaels, see the *Easton Gazette*, May 11 and 18, and June 1, 1861.

[30] *Easton Gazette*, April 27, 1861.

ford and prevented the collector appointed by Lincoln from assuming his post. When the governor discovered that Tilghman had not taken his militia oath in accordance with law, he found a way to neutralize the general. On October 1, 1860, Tilghman had taken his oath before a justice of the peace, and the oath subsequently had been endorsed by the clerk of the circuit court for Talbot County. The General Assembly, though, had passed a new law that required the clerk of the circuit court to administer the oath. When Tilghman learned of the new requirement, he "qualified" before the clerk on April 23, 1861, but the law also required that he take the requisite oath within thirty days after receiving the commission, which Tilghman in both instances had failed to do.[31]

In a May 6 proclamation, Hicks revoked Tilghman's commission: "[I] enjoin upon the commissioned officers in said Second Division not to obey the orders of said Tench Tilghman, in as much as he does not hold a lawful commission in said Second Division, and is, therefore, without authority to issue any Military orders whatever. And I enjoin upon the citizens residing within the boundaries of said Second Division not to obey or comply with any Regimental orders issued in pursuance of the authority unlawfully assumed by said Tench Tilghman." Hicks's proclamation undermined the authority of the ranking militia officer of nine of Maryland's twenty-one counties and Baltimore, and it dampened the military preparations in which Tilghman was engaged.[32]

Hicks was also concerned about other instances of unauthorized military preparation in the state. He learned that self-appointed officers who did not hold commissions in the militia were enrolling and arming men for military service, and that legitimate officers were placing men on duty without orders and without notifying the commander-in-chief as required by law. On April 29 he issued a proclamation to "warn all such persons of the unlawfulness of such acts; and do enjoin upon the proper authorities of the several counties and of the city of Baltimore to see that the Laws of the State be not violated in the premises." Although it is unclear if Hicks's proclamation halted any unauthorized military preparation, it may have slowed such activity, moved it out of public view, or caused those engaged in it to depart for Virginia.[33]

In the aftermath of the April 19 unrest, Hicks initially took steps to mobilize the militia in Baltimore, but then thought better of it. In his December 1861 address to the General Assembly, Hicks recalled his motives: "I discovered that nearly

[31] In designating the governor as commander-in-chief of the state forces, article 2, section 9 of the Constitution of 1851 invested the governor with the authority to "call out the militia to repel invasions, suppress insurrections, and enforce execution of the laws"; Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 216; House of Delegates, *Journal*, 126; Senate, *Journal*, 219–20; "Proclamation," May 6, 1861, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861.

[32] "Proclamation," May 6, 1861, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861.

[33] "Proclamation," April 29, 1861, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861.

all the officers were in league with the conspirators, and the volunteer corps of the city and vicinity, which possessed arms, were almost entirely in the same category." Baltimore's loyal militia, Hicks wrote, were undisciplined and unarmed.[34]

Hicks had no such compunction about mobilizing the state militia in Frederick. In doing so, the governor had an ally in Frederick County's senator.

The Maryland Militia Prior to the Civil War

On the eve of the Civil War the Maryland Militia had recovered from its moribund condition of just three years earlier. In his 1858 message to the General Assembly, then-Governor Thomas Watkins Ligon wrote of the state militia: "It is proper for me again to remind you, that the Legislature have failed, as yet to pass any law for the enrollment of the militia although expressly required to do so by the 9th Article, Sec. 1 of the Constitution. With the exception of the volunteer corps in the City of Baltimore, and a few uniform companies in three or four counties there is in truth no organized militia in the state." Should an emergency arise, Ligon wrote, "the State would be literally without men and without arms." State law required the adjutant general to disperse arms to volunteer companies throughout the state when their officers applied for them, but the usual outcome was that the companies disbanded without returning the arms. As a result, state armories were destitute of weapons. To keep the peace in Baltimore during the last election, the governor informed the legislature that he had borrowed two thousand muskets from Virginia.[35]

John Brown's October 16, 1859, raid on the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry ended the malaise in both the General Assembly and the Maryland Militia. When word of Brown's raid reached Maryland, much of the state's existing militia responded to the scene. Frederick and Easton were the sites of the state's two principal armories. There were also three active infantry companies in Frederick, a portion of the Sixteenth Regiment, Maryland Militia. The regiment offered its services to President James Buchanan, who accepted, and on October 17 the companies proceeded to the Ferry, only about twenty miles away. An assault on Brown and his followers, who had taken refuge in a brick firehouse, was planned for the morning in conjunction with Virginia militia. After midnight U.S. Marines commanded by Col. Robert E. Lee arrived, along with five military companies from Baltimore. The marines stormed the firehouse after daylight, ending the standoff.[36]

[34] [Hicks], *Message of the Governor of Maryland, to the General Assembly*, 5.

[35] Ligon to the Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates, January 6, 1858, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861, MSA SM 172-4, MdHR M3162-3, MSA.

[36] For information on the activities of the Frederick militia at Harpers Ferry, see Gregory A. Stiverson, ed., *"In Readiness to Do Every Duty Assigned": The Frederick Militia and John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, October 17–18, 1859*, Jacobsen Conference on Maryland History Document No.1 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1991). The presence of the

The Brown raid, which had been intended to incite a slave insurrection, sent a shock wave throughout the South. Southerners feared that northern abolitionists might encourage and finance further unrest amongst their slaves. As a result, in the South, the formation of local militias increased. From just after Brown's raid to the beginning of the Civil War, militias across the South armed and drilled to put down a future uprising.

Maryland, a border slave state, experienced a similar rejuvenation of its militia system. Within weeks after the Brown raid, new military companies formed across Maryland. In Frederick County, despite its relatively small slave population (7 percent in 1860), the local militia's role in ending the raid seems to have engendered much interest in the military arts. On January 11, 1860, the *Frederick Examiner* commented, "The Military Spirit so rife in the land, is manifesting itself in the formation of numerous uniformed companies throughout the county." By February 1 seven new military companies had formed in Frederick County.[37]

So concerned was the General Assembly with military preparation that in 1860 it appropriated $70,000 for the purchase of arms. From June 14, 1860, to April 13, 1861, at least fifty-three military companies from across Maryland received weapons from the state's recently purchased arms. By April 19, 1861, the state adjutant general had distributed 1,630 infantry arms and 984 cavalry arms to militia companies after their officers posted bond to ensure the safekeeping and return of the weapons.[38]

The Maryland Militia consisted of five divisions, four numbered consecutively and the Light Division. The First Division was composed of the southern Maryland counties of Montgomery, Prince George's, Charles, St. Mary's, Calvert, Anne Arundel, and Howard, as well as one regiment from Frederick County. It consisted of seventeen infantry regiments organized into four brigades and three regimental cavalry districts. The Second Division included all of the Eastern Shore counties, Cecil, and Harford and included twenty infantry regiments distributed into four brigades and five regimental cavalry districts.

Baltimore City had both the Third and the Light divisions within its boundaries. The Third Division was composed of eight infantry regiments organized

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Frederick companies is also mentioned in Lee's official report. See Lee to Cooper, October 19, 1859, in Select Committee of the U.S. Senate, *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate Appointed to Inquire into the Late Invasion and Seizure of Public Property at Harpers Ferry* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1860), 41.

[37] *Frederick Examiner*, November 30, 1859, December 14 and 28, 1859, January 11, 1860, and February 1, 1860.

[38] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 17–18. See arms bonds in Adjutant General (Civil War Papers), 1860–1861, MSA S935-15, MdHR 50,040-11, MSA; House of Delegates, "Report of the Adjutant General of Maryland, to the General Assembly, Special Session, 1861," Document E, *House and Senate Documents, 1861* (n.p., 1861).

into two brigades. It also included a brigade of artillery, consisting of two regiments, and two regimental cavalry districts. The Light Division was composed of three infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, and a regiment of light cavalry, structured into two brigades.

The Fourth Division, comprising the northwestern counties, including Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Carroll, and Baltimore County, consisted of three brigades of five infantry regiments each and two regimental cavalry districts.[39]

The Sixteenth Regiment

In addition to his duties as senator from Frederick County, Major-General Anthony Kimmel commanded the Fourth Division, Maryland Militia. The sixty-three-year-old Kimmel was a native of Baltimore and a veteran of over forty years' service under state arms. As a sixteen-year-old during the War of 1812, he had helped defend Baltimore from the British during the Battle of North Point, which began September 12, 1814, and preceded the bombardment of Fort McHenry by a day. Over the years Kimmel rose through the ranks of the militia and on April 12, 1860, assumed command of the Fourth Division. Kimmel, a widower, farmed a Frederick County estate called "Linganore." He had been elected to the state senate in 1858 from the American or "Know-Nothing" Party, as had Hicks. In the 1860 presidential election he had supported the candidacy of Constitutional Unionists John Bell and Edward Everett.[40]

[39] The organization of the Maryland Militia is taken from Adjutant General (Militia Appointments), 1822–1862, MSA S348-7, MdHR 5590, MSA. From surviving records it is not possible to determine the number of companies who served within each division, brigade, or regiment, nor the number of soldiers who served in each company. Additionally, incomplete records make it impossible to determine which regiments and companies, if any, were inactive at the outbreak of the Civil War.

[40] Biographical information on Kimmel can be found in Kimmel to Bradford, March 13, 1862, Governor (Miscellaneous Papers), 1848–1918, box 73, folder 12, MSA S1274, MdHR 6636, MSA; *Frederick Republican*, April 28, 1871; *Frederick Examiner*, April 26, 1871; T. J. C. Williams & Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County*, vol. 2 (reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co, 1967), 846–48. Record of Kimmel's promotion to major general is in Adjutant General (Militia Appointments), 1822–1862, 4. Record of Kimmel's support of the Constitutional Unionist candidates is from Jacob Engelbrecht, *The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht*, William R. Quynn, ed. (Frederick, Md.: Historical Society of Frederick County, 1901; reprint 2001), CD-ROM, entry for September 6, 1860. Kimmel was a confidante and supporter of the governor. On January 26 he had written Hicks to congratulate him on resisting pressure to call the General Assembly in session, and he opined that seven-eighths of the citizens supported Hicks's actions. See Kimmel to Hicks, January 26, 1861, MS 1313, Thomas Holliday Hicks Papers, 1860–1862, MdHS. According to the April 28, 1871, *Frederick Republican*, Kimmel broke with the Lincoln Administration over the Emancipation Proclamation. On April 6, 1864, Kimmel was defeated as an anti-abolition candidate from Frederick

Brigadier General Edward Shriver, age forty-nine, led the Ninth Brigade of the Fourth Division, a position he assumed September 26, 1860. Shriver commanded four infantry regiments from Frederick County, including the Sixteenth Regiment from the city of Frederick. As colonel of the Sixteenth Regiment in 1859, he had led the battalion of three companies to Harpers Ferry to assist Virginia's authorities in ending John Brown's raid. Shriver, like Kimmel a widower, was a lawyer who from 1843 to 1845 had served in the House of Delegates from Frederick County and in 1850 as a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention. In the 1860 presidential election he supported the northern Democratic candidate, Stephen A. Douglas. An ardent unionist, in 1861 Shriver would play an important role on behalf of the Lincoln Administration in suppressing secessionist sentiment in the state. Federal officials actively sought his counsel regarding the political views of state officeholders, and in September 1861 he would help coordinate the arrest of Maryland legislators whom federal authorities suspected of disloyalty.[41]

In direct command of the Sixteenth Regiment was Colonel James McSherry, a forty-two-year-old Frederick attorney. McSherry, who had assumed command of the regiment on September 26, 1860, was the author of the 1849 book, *History of Maryland: From its First Settlement in 1634 to the Year 1848*, and other literary works.

County to the Maryland Constitutional Convention. See *Frederick Maryland Union*, March 24 and April 14, 1864.

[41] Adjutant General (Militia Appointments), 1822–1862, [4b]; Shriver to Coale, October 22, 1859, in Stiverson, ed., *"In Readiness to Do Every Duty Assigned,"* 9–27; House of Delegates, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, December Session, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Three* (Annapolis: Riley & Davis, printers, 1843), 3; ibid., *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, December Session, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Four* (Annapolis: Riley & Davis, 1844), 3; Md. Constitutional Convention, *Preceedings* [sic] *of the Maryland State Convention to Frame a New Constitution. Commenced at Annapolis, November 4, 1850* (Annapolis: Riley & Davis, printers, 1850), 5; *O.R.*, I, 19, pt. 2: 266, ibid., II, 1: 683, 692, 693; ibid., III, 2: 538; Shaw to Effie, December 8, 1861, in Robert Gould Shaw, *Blue-eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould* Shaw, Russell Duncan, ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 166; Stanton to Bradford, September 17, 1862, Governor (Miscellaneous Papers), 1848–1918, box 69, folder 17; Shriver to Copeland, September 11, 1861, in *Secret Correspondence Illustrating the Condition of Affairs in Maryland* (Baltimore: n.p., 1863), 8–9; Copeland to Banks, September 17, 1861, ibid., 19–20; Shriver to Banks, November 1, 1861, ibid., 34–35; Shriver to Banks, November 8, 1861, ibid., 37–38; Adjutant General Militia (Militia Appointments), 1861–1865, 1–2, MSA S348-11, MdHR 5594, MSA. In November 1861 Shriver was elected to the Maryland Commission of Public Works, overseers of the state's investments in internal improvement projects. See Commissioners of Public Works (Minutes), 1851–1865, 113, MSA S54-1, MdHR 12,683-1, MSA. After the war President Andrew Johnson appointed him postmaster general for Baltimore. See *Frederick Examiner*, February 26, 1896. For additional biographical information on Shriver, see David Shriver Lovelace, *The Shrivers: Under Two Flags* (Westminster: Union Mills Homestead, 2003), 1–7.

In 1864 his fifteen-year-old son Edward would run away from home to join the Confederate army in which he would serve until the end of the war.[42]

When on April 26 the General Assembly convened in Frederick, it found the Sixteenth Regiment already mobilized, guarding the state arsenal and barracks, and patrolling the town. The next day the House of Delegates, perplexed by the militia's presence, requested that the governor give the reason why the militia had been called into service; why their continued service was necessary; the number of troops that had been activated; what amount, if any, the militia was to be paid; and what number and kind of arms were in the Frederick arsenal.[43]

On May 1, Hicks replied that on April 20, "in consequence of representations made to me that the barracks were insecure, and that the arms contained therein were liable to seizure by disorderly persons, I gave directions to the Major-General in command of the 4th Division of Maryland Militia 'to have a sufficient Guard to ensure the safety of the arms.' . . . In compliance with my direction, orders were issued to Col. McSherry, of the 16th Regiment, M[aryland] M[ilitia], to call out his regiment and station at the Barracks a sufficient military Guard." Hicks wrote that 150–200 men were on duty initially.[44] Hicks then informed the legislature that other forces had supplemented the local militia. "Within the past two or three days the 'Home Guard' have been added. I cannot state the exact number of troops in actual service, but believe the number to be from 300 to 400." Hicks mentioned that three hundred firearms had been distributed to the Frederick Home Guard and three hundred more to the home guard from Middletown, a small town less than ten miles west of Frederick. He noted that the best arms had already been distributed to the local militia and that most of the eight hundred weapons that remained were antiquated or needed repair. Of the three local militia companies and two home guard companies, Hicks wrote that one was on duty in Frederick each day.[45]

[42] Adjutant General (Militia Appointments), 1822–1862, 20[b]; James McSherry, *History of Maryland; From its First Settlement in 1634, to the Year 1848* (Baltimore, 1849); [author unknown] "Eddy McSherry's Escapade," in McSherry genealogy file, Frederick Historical Society, Frederick, Md.

[43] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 14–15.

[44] Hicks to Gentlemen of the House of Delegates, May 1, 1861, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861. Hicks's order to call out the Sixteenth Regiment was reported in the April 24, 1861, *Frederick Examiner*. The newspaper noted that on April 22 the first company was placed on duty.

[45] Hicks to Gentlemen of the House of Delegates, May 1, 1861, in Governor (Proceedings), 1853–1861. The contribution of Western Maryland's Union home guard companies was acknowledged in the 1898 book, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers*. One of the authors, George W. F. Vernon, had been a Frederick resident and served in the Home Guard. He later enlisted in the First Potomac Home Brigade Cavalry Battalion, known as "Cole's Cavalry." See L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, & George W. F. Vernon, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861–5* (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., 1898), 1:1. Vernon's name is on the home guard's muster role. See John A. Steiner, "The Brengle Home Guard," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 200.

Quite unexpectedly, the southern-leaning General Assembly discovered armed unionist militia patrolling the town in which they were meeting.[46]

The formation of loyal home guard companies was part of a broader pro-Union countermovement underway in western Maryland in response to the hostilities in Baltimore and the aggression of the Confederates at Harpers Ferry. By 1860 Frederick, Washington, and Allegany Counties were respectively the third through fifth most populous political entities in the state in both white population and total population, trailing only Baltimore City and County. These counties also had some of the smallest slave populations in Maryland: 7 percent in Frederick County, 5 percent in Washington County, and 2 percent in Allegany County. As mentioned earlier, Confederate troops from Harpers Ferry had occupied Maryland soil and were making uncontested raids across the Potomac in Frederick and Washington Counties. Although the General Assembly began to investigate the incidents, Hicks informed Lincoln on May 8 and asked him to intervene. The president was still concerned with the defense of Washington and of establishing an unbroken transportation link with the North. As a result he was unable to dispatch troops to defend the western counties. Because of the divided sentiment within the Maryland Militia, Hicks had decided not to mobilize the entire state militia and made no effort to send state troops to the Potomac. The militia from Frederick and Washington Counties alone would not have had sufficient manpower to contest the Confederates, whose garrison at Harpers Ferry quickly grew to several thousand men.[47]

It was out of this power vacuum that local communities in western Maryland organized home guard companies to protect their towns from raids and sabotage perpetuated by the Confederates at Harper's Ferry and their local sympathizers. In Frederick County no less than seven Union home guard companies were formed in the spring of 1861. In Washington County three companies were organized, and existing loyal militia companies at Sharpsburg and Boonsboro, part of the Tenth

[46] There was some sectional dissension within the Frederick County militia. Of the three companies in the Sixteenth Regiment—the Independent Riflemen, the United Guards, and the Junior Defenders—on May 17 the last named company disbanded because of "conflicted opinion among the members in reference to the political troubles." On June 1 the pro-Union members, along with new recruits, reformed as the Union Defenders. They were mustered into the Sixteenth Regiment on June 4. See *Frederick Examiner*, May 22, June 5 and 12, 1861. In addition, the Manor Mounted Guard from Adamstown in Frederick County, part of the First Regiment, First Regimental Cavalry District, disbanded in the spring and a majority of its members joined the Confederate army. See William Jarboe Grove, *History of Carrollton Manor, Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, Md.: Marken & Bielfeld, 1928), 207–8.

[47] Hicks to Lincoln, May 8, 1861, in Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 216.

Regiment, Second Brigade, Fourth Division of the Maryland Militia, mobilized and actively skirmished with Confederate pickets across the Potomac.[48]

The Frederick Home Guard, also called the Brengle Home Guard after its captain, Alfred F. Brengle, was organized on April 23 and consisted initially of about two hundred men, but within days the muster roll included the names of over three hundred men from all walks of life. The company's secretary, John A. Steiner, wrote that some of the men who shouldered muskets were over seventy years old. On April 26, the day the legislature assembled, the Frederick Home Guard was mustered into the Sixteenth Regiment, was reviewed by General Kimmel, and received their arms from the Frederick arsenal. The May 1 *Frederick Examiner* wrote, "The appearance of such a large body of our usually quiet citizens under arms, tells how deeply the fountains of patriotism are stirred up in these exciting times of treason and partisan revolt against established order and good government."[49]

By early May pro-Union sentiment in Frederick was at its zenith. On May 7 the town's women presented a U.S. flag to the Home Guard in a ceremony that featured patriotic music and a number of politicians. A Frederick correspondent to the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* reported that "The population of the city was swelled by the addition of upwards of 2,000 persons, who poured in from the surrounding towns and villages. . . . Union Cockades and badges were displayed in profusion upon the coats of the jubilant Union men, numbers of whom were decidedly ambitious in their ideas of patriotic personal adornment, wearing cockades as large as sunflowers." Prominent attorney Reverdy

[48] In addition to the home guards formed at Frederick and Middletown, in Frederick County additional companies were formed at Jefferson, Libertytown, Emmittsburg, Mt. Pleasant, and Tuscarora. In Washington County home guard companies were formed at Williamsport, Clear Spring, and Hagerstown. See *Frederick Examiner*, May 1, 15 and 22, 1861; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, May 15, 22 and 29, 1861; ibid., June 5, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 14, 1861. Because distant Allegany County was not threatened by southern troops during the secession crisis and first days of the Civil War, less is known about the home guard activities there. On June 19, 1861, a portion of a company called the Cumberland Continentals, of the Fiftieth Regiment, Second Brigade, Fourth Division of the Maryland Militia, was guarding the railroad bridge over the Potomac near New Creek, Va. (today Keyser, W. Va.) when Confederates saboteurs chased them away and burned the bridge. Sources reported that the remainder of the Continentals and the "Home Guard" turned out to defend the town in the event of an attack. Other military companies from Frostburg and Grantsville came to Cumberland's defense, along with four companies from nearby towns in Pennsylvania. It is unknown if these additional Maryland companies were a part of the Maryland Militia or were home guard companies. See Cumberland *Civilian and Telegraph*, June 20 and 27, 1861, and Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland* (Washington: James Anglin, 1878), 400–401.

[49] Steiner, "Brengle Home Guard," 196, 198–200; Englebrecht, *Diary*, April 26 and May 8,

Johnson, Maryland's former and future U.S. Senator, delivered a rousing pro-Union address. Frederick diarist Jacob Engelbrecht wrote that "this was by far the largest meeting ever held at the Court House Square & shows that the people of Frederick County are wide awake and are determined to stick to the Union. Let the consequences be what they may."[50]

Under the eyes of Kimmel and Governor Hicks, the latter of whom also stayed in Frederick during the extra session, the Home Guard undertook a campaign of harassment and intimidation against local secessionists. The May 14 *Frederick Herald*, one of two pro-South newspapers in town, noted, "It would appear that a quasi-system of surveillance exists in our midst. . . . It is well known that several quiet, order-loving and unoffending citizens had been forced at the point of a bayonet to stand and submit to the indignity of being questioned, and perchance insulted by irresponsible persons, who believe themselves clothed with a little brief authority."[51]

Secession-leaning members of the General Assembly were not immune to the Home Guard's scrutiny. Secretary Steiner wrote that he and his fellow home guards "kept our eyes on the movements of the members, even during the recess of the sessions. This was to them an annoyance as they termed it." He added that each member of the Home Guard had taken a vow to prevent the General Assembly from passing any treasonable legislation. "We taught them [the General Assembly] that the loyal people of Frederick were making no child's play of the question and that any attempt on their part to carry Maryland out of the Union would be met promptly and fearlessly, and if necessary even by the destruction of the disloyal members of that remarkable body. No loyal person had the slightest doubt but that the parades and formidable appearance of the Home Guards had produced the desired effect."[52]

When it was feared that the Senate might pass the Public Safety Bill, the Home Guard prepared to intervene. According to Steiner, "Under the apprehension

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1861; *Frederick Examiner*, April 24 and May 1, 1861. During one of the Confederate invasions of Maryland, the Confederates took Alfred F. Brengle prisoner, perhaps as a result of his activities with the Frederick Home Guard. He had resigned from the Frederick Home Guard in June 1861 and did not join the Union army, and at the time of his arrest federal exchange agents claimed that Brengle worked for the U.S. Sanitary Commission. He was exchanged in February 1864. See *O.R.*, II, 6: 756, 943; Steiner, "Brengle Home Guard," 196.

[50] *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 9, 1861; Engelbrecht, Diary, May 7, 1861. In his speech, Johnson reminded his audience that "no 'whiskey rebellion' ever occurred within our borders; no ordinance of nullification was ever threatened by us; and if we continue true to patriotic duty, no ordinance of secession, direct or indirect, open or covert, will ever be adopted by those in authority, or, if madly adopted, be tolerated by the people."

[51] *Frederick Herald*, May 14, 1861.

[52] Steiner, "Brengle Home Guard," 197.

that the Bill would get its final passage in the Senate, the Loyal Home Guard were anxious to proceed to the Senate Chamber with their arms and to force the Senators from the chamber, even if necessary out of the third story windows into the streets. Cooler counsels prevailed, the arm of violence was stayed, when the Senators, getting news of the extraordinary excitement, gave pledges that the Bill would not be passed." If the bill was brought before the Senate at a later date, the home Guard arranged to assemble upon the ringing of the courthouse bell. "It was generally believed then," Steiner concluded, "that the firm and decided action of the Frederick City Home Guards held the Legislature of Maryland in check, so that no positive disloyal legislation was had."[53]

Delegate Severn Teackle Wallis, in his defense of the General Assembly to Ohio Senator John Sherman, made no mention of the mobilization of the Sixteenth Regiment. Sherman had charged that the Public Safety Bill "caused great public indignation; the Legislature was threatened by the loyal people of Frederick with expulsion if they dare to pass it." Wallis denied that Frederick's Unionists, of which the Home Guard was the vanguard, had any influence on the legislature, but then acknowledged, "There was some foolish talk, among a few excitable people at Frederick." Then he quickly dismissed their significance by adding, "the parties who were guilty of it knew better than to carry it beyond the swagger of the barrooms."[54]

Additional sources from both sides of the issue confirm that an antagonistic relationship existed between Frederick's Unionists and the General Assembly. On June 26, the *Frederick Examiner* praised the Home Guard for protecting property, preserving the peace and "indirectly exercising a wholesome restraint upon the disorganizing purposes of the Secessionists in our midst. For this latter reason they have become especially obnoxious to the Secessionists in the Legislature."[55]

Frederick lawyer Bradley T. Johnson, a future Confederate cavalryman, also confirmed that the two sides were at odds. After the April 19 uprising on Pratt Street, Johnson led a small military company to Baltimore and returned to Frederick in late April. Johnson later wrote that he "remained in Frederick at the request of the State rights members of the legislature to guard and protect them from the Unionists of the town, who were loquacious and loud in their threats against 'the Secesh.'" On May 9, Johnson left Frederick with his men and led them across the bridge at Point of Rocks for Harpers Ferry and the Confederate army.[56]

[53] Ibid., 197–98. Steiner later enlisted in the First Potomac Home Brigade Infantry, Maryland Volunteers, a federal regiment designated for service exclusively in Maryland from the Monocacy River to the western boundary of the state.

[54] Wallis, *Correspondence*, 12, 28.

[55] *Frederick Examiner*, June 26, 1861.

[56] Johnson, *Maryland*, 26; Engelbrecht, *Diary*, May 10, 1861; *New York Times*, May 10, 1861.

The *Frederick Herald* helped to document the ascendancy of the Home Guard and suggested the tactics the organization employed. On May 21 it published a letter from a local citizen who complained that although a "Southern Rights" man could not draw arms from the state arsenal, "those who professed to be . . . 'Union' men or *submissionists*, obtained guns without stint. This . . . shows conclusively the partizan complexion of those who suggested the formation and who compose the 'Home Guards.' It is beyond doubt a political organization, gotten up for political purposes, and to foster and strengthen the 'Union–submissionist–coercion–Black-Republican party' in this city, . . . which is now so rampant and insolent because of their *supposed* overpowering strength." The writer noted that "Our city is not under martial law, and it's all a farce to have men carrying their muskets about the streets at as early an hour as 8 o'clock. We want no protection; no dangers beset us, and all this pomp and military show is for political buncombo."[57]

Steiner recorded that in retaliation for the Home Guard's activities, the "Rebels" of Frederick burned the courthouse that the Home Guard used as a rendezvous point. Local newspapers confirm the arson.[58] Hicks took one more significant step against the state's secessionists. After the General Assembly had adjourned on May 14, and before it reconvened on June 4, Hicks secured arms from disloyal parts of the state to keep them out of the hands of Confederate sympathizers. On May 30 the governor ordered Colonel Petherbridge to collect state arms and store them subject to his order. Tellingly, Petherbridge only seized arms from military companies in Baltimore and from the armory at Easton. The arms in the hands of the loyal militia were not touched. Hicks subsequently ordered the seized weapons placed in Fort McHenry.[59]

On June 5, the House of Delegates asked Hicks to provide the reason for his actions and explain what security he had obtained from federal officials at the fort for the return of the arms. Hicks replied, "I had become satisfied that many of them [the arms] had been carried beyond the limits of the State of Maryland, for disloyal purposes." He placed the arms in Fort McHenry because the depository in Baltimore was insecure. As for the safe return of the arms, Hicks said that it "lies in the honor of the United States Government, and its loyal officers. I should have deemed it absurd and insulting to have required any other security."[60]

[57] *Frederick Herald*, May 21, 1861.

[58] Steiner, "Brengle Home Guard," 198; *Frederick Examiner*, May 15 and 22, 1861; *Frederick Herald*, May 21, 1861.

[59] Hicks to Petherbridge, May 30, 1861, Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 222; Senate, *Report of the Committee on Judicial Proceedings Upon the Message of the Governor of Maryland, Giving His Reasons for Disarming the State Militia*. Document I (Frederick, 1861), 5. After the secession crisis had passed, Hicks began to collect arms from the loyal militia companies, such as the Sharpsburg Riflemen, many of whose officers began to enroll in the Potomac Home Brigade. Hicks to Mobley, July 29, 1861, Governor (Letterbook), 1854–1865, 223.

[60] Senate, *Message of the Governor in Relation to His Disarming the State Military, in Re-*

The Senate was incensed. It claimed that Hicks's seizure of arms from Baltimore and Easton, their storage at Fort McHenry, and the distribution of arms to loyal home guard companies was "a palpable usurpation of authority" and that state law only authorized the adjutant general to distribute and collect arms, not the governor or his agents. Additionally the law required that arms be deposited in the state armories, not federal depositories.[61] In June the General Assembly subsequently passed a joint resolution asking that Hicks reverse his course with regard to his seizure and distribution of state arms. It resolved "that the Governor be requested to return to the Armories of the State, the arms which have been removed by his order from said Armories, and deposited in Fort McHenry, or placed in the hands of ununiformed companies or associations of individuals, and that he return to all regularly organized and uniformed volunteer companies of the State, the arms reclaimed from them, or either of them, by his order."[62]

Western Maryland's home guard companies realized that the provision to take away arms from the "ununiformed companies or associations of individuals" was a blatant attempt to disarm them. In response, the Frederick Home Guard, the Middletown Home Guard, and the Williamsport Home Guard published resolutions protesting any attempt to disarm loyal citizens and stating their intention to resist "to the death" all attempts to enforce the resolution.[63]

Hicks and the legislature were at loggerheads on other matters. On June 8, during the General Assembly's second extra session, the Senate ordered Hicks to send it a list of all civil and military officials he had appointed to office since March 10, 1860, the date the last General Assembly had adjourned, since the Senate was responsible for confirming his appointments. Hicks saw red flags. He had made several of his most important militia appointments, including generals Kimmel

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sponse to an Order of the Senate of Maryland, 3–4. McHenry Howard, a future Confederate officer, was a member of the Maryland Guard Battalion from Baltimore, part of the Fifty-third Regiment, Light Division. In his memoir he wrote that on the night of May 13—the evening Butler moved into Baltimore—members of his battalion were permitted to remove weapons from the unit's armory to keep them from falling into Butler's hands, and that many of the arms later served the cause of the South. See McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate, Soldier and Staff Officer Under Johnston, Jackson and Lee* (repr., Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1975), 13.

[61] Senate, *Report of the Committee on Judicial Proceedings Upon the Message of the Governor of Maryland, Giving His Reasons For Disarming the State Militia,* 3–5.

[62] [State of Maryland], *Supplement to the Maryland Code, Containing the Acts of the General Assembly Passed at the Extra Sessions of 1861, and the Regular Session of 1862, Divided into Public General and Public Local Laws, and Arranged in Articles and Sections to Correspond with the Code,* vol. 1 (Baltimore, 1862), 114.

[63] *Frederick Examiner,* June 26, 1861; Hagerstown *Herald of Freedom & Torch Light,* July 10, 1861.

and Shriver, after the last regular session had adjourned.[64] On June 19, the governor informed the Senate that he would not supply the names of his appointments for confirmation. He wrote that the constitution required that he submit his executive appointments "only at the regular sessions of the Legislature," not to extra sessions. On June 22, the Senate adopted a report that disagreed with the governor's interpretation of the law, but Hicks's inaction ensured that his appointed officers remained in their posts.[65]

On June 20 the General Assembly passed a bill to validate Tench Tilghman's commission. Another militia officer, Lt. John Merryman of the Baltimore County Horse Guard, had a similar problem qualifying for his commission in accordance with the law, and on June 18 the legislature validated his commission as well. On June 24 the General Assembly also passed legislation that repealed several sections of the Maryland Code of Public Laws with regard to the Maryland Militia and added a new section. The result was that militia companies, officers, and soldiers were absolved from responsibility for any state arms that were destroyed, lost, stolen or taken to Virginia. The legislature repealed another section that took away the governor's authority to collect and distribute arms. Yet by this time the measures passed by the legislature were of little significance, except as points scored against the governor. The opportunity had long since vanished when it might have passed some measure to change the state's relationship to the federal government.[66]

When the General Assembly adjourned its first extra session on May 14, it passed a number of pro-South joint resolutions. Among them was one stating "that under the existing circumstances it is inexpedient to call a Sovereign Convention of the State at this time, or to take any measures for the immediate organization for arming of the militia."[67]

Military events then took place that made one thing perfectly clear: Even had the legislators still wanted to resist the federal government, it would have been pointless to do so. The day before the legislature adjourned, Butler moved his troops into Baltimore. With his men scattered along the railroad from Baltimore to Washington, the state was essentially cut in two, making communication difficult with points east of his line. On May 24, federal troops crossed into Virginia and occupied Alexandria, making open warfare imminent. On June 7, Gen. Robert Patterson advanced a portion of his army south from Chambersburg to Greencastle, Pennsylvania, beginning a campaign against Confederates at Harpers Ferry. On June 10, Col. Charles P. Stone led 2,500 men on an expedition up the Potomac northwest of

[64] Senate, *Journal*, 165–66.

[65] Ibid., 218–19, 258–59.

[66] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 128, 211–12, 318–19; Senate, *Journal*, 213–14, 236–37, 264; [State of Maryland], *Supplement to the Maryland Code*, vol.1, 55.

[67] House of Delegates, *Journal*, 108–9; Senate, *Journal*, 133–34; [State of Maryland], *Supplement to the Maryland Code*, vol. 2, 112.

Georgetown and placed the first federal pickets at the prominent fords and ferries on the Potomac above Washington. On June 21 he extended his line into Frederick County at the mouth of the Monocacy River. Early in June the 11th Indiana Zouaves had taken up residence in Cumberland. On June 15, Patterson moved his army into Washington County and advanced to the Potomac at Williamsport. On the twenty-first he dispatched Col. Samuel Yohe and the 1st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry to Frederick. The soldiers arrived the next day and moved into the state barracks.[68]

By the third week of June, Lincoln's army was indeed in firm military control of most of Maryland west of the Chesapeake Bay. Largely because of Hicks's actions, though, the General Assembly had given up on the Public Safety Bill six weeks earlier.

Yet to a great extent the state remained in the Union because of its own internal diversity and contradictions. The effectiveness of the measures Hicks took against the state's secessionists and the General Assembly depended upon the loyalty of a substantial portion of the Maryland Militia. Divided political sentiment within the militia mirrored the political divisions within the state. Recent scholarship on disloyalty within the Confederacy shows that unionism and disaffection from the Confederate cause existed in parts of southern states where slavery was not prominent, mostly in mountainous western Virginia, east Tennessee, western North Carolina, northern Georgia, and northern Alabama. In Maryland, support for the Confederacy followed the same pattern. It was the majority sentiment in those regions of high slave concentrations, the minority sentiment where slavery was less prevalent. The irony is that Hicks, an Eastern Shore slaveholder, had political views more in common with citizens from the western counties than his native Dorchester.[69]

In retrospect, had the General Assembly passed the Public Safety Bill in early May, it would have encountered great difficulty implementing its provisions. Al-

[68] For Butler moving to Baltimore, see *O.R.*, I, 2: 29; for the occupation of Alexandria, see ibid., 40; for Patterson's advance to Greencastle, see ibid., 669; for Stone's expedition along the Potomac, see ibid., 106–7, 113; for Wallace's arrival in Cumberland, see ibid., 668; for Patterson's advance to Hagerstown and Williamsport, see ibid., 686, 692; for Patterson's dispatch of troops to Frederick, see *O.R.*, I, 51, part 1: 407, ibid., I, 2: 712–13, and *Frederick Examiner*, June 26, 1861.

[69] Recent books on disloyalty within the Confederacy include, Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press: 1992); William W. Freehling, *The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, eds., *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); and Daniel E. Sutherland, ed., *Guerrillas, Unionists and Violence on the Confederate Home Front* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999).

most immediately the legislators would have had to acquire and distribute arms and reorganize the state militia. But because Hicks had convened the General Assembly in Frederick, it was isolated from the pro-Confederate parts of the state and sympathetic militiamen. Also because of Hicks's actions, it was meeting in Frederick in the midst of loyal militia, some of whom pledged to prevent the passage of any treasonable legislation. Furthermore, the governor had distributed the best arms in the Frederick arsenal to the loyal militia and home guard companies and had put the remainder under military guard, which kept the General Assembly from gaining access to them. Further, in early May the pro-South militia—like Bradley T. Johnson's company—began to leave the state for Virginia, some companies actually passing through Frederick under the watchful eye of the Sixteenth Regiment and leaving the General Assembly to fend for itself.[70]

As Radcliffe pointed out, Hicks's decision to not convene the General Assembly until the last possible moment gave the legislature little time to pass measures leading to secession. Moreover, by convening the legislature in Frederick, securing arms from secessionists, discouraging unauthorized military preparation, and mobilizing the loyal militia, Hicks emasculated the General Assembly and ensured that it did not have the means or opportunity to resist the federal government and cooperate with the Confederacy. Delegate Severn Teackle Wallis later wrote that "we were powerless, and we knew and felt it."[71]

To Marylanders who supported secession, Hicks was a scoundrel and a traitor who had thwarted the General Assembly's plan to resist the government and cooperate with the Confederacy via the Public Safety Bill. To Maryland Unionists, though, including a strong majority in western Maryland, he was a hero, a man who had saved the state from the machinations of the General Assembly and ensured that it would remain in the Union.[72]

[70] Of the secessionists passing through Frederick, the May 15, 1861 *Frederick Examiner* wrote, "On thursday last [May 9], quite a sensation was produced here by the tidings that a large body of Secession Volunteers from Baltimore were about to pass through this city on their way to Harpersferry to join the Rebels. After many preliminaries, the first company, numbering 34 men, apparently without arms, hungry and weary, under the escort of Gen. Shriver and Sheriff Haller marched in a body through town to Snyder's Tavern at the West end of Patrick Street.– They were followed soon after by 15 others. All of them passed along without molestation, got their breakfast, and proceeded in Stages, provided by donations of their sympathisers, to their destination. On the following evening another band of 62 passed through. A rumor having spread that these latter intended sojourning for the night, and that they were Pratt Street rioters for the most part, fleeing from justice, the Brengle Home Guards marched them out of town towards the Point of rocks, Occasional stragglers have since passed through. Many such accessions to the Southern army will put its boasted chivalry at a discount." See also *New York Times*, May 10, 1861.

[71] Wallis, *Correspondence*, 30.

[72] Hicks later acknowledged the role played by Maryland Unionists in the secession crisis,

On June 16, Hicks traveled to Hagerstown and Williamsport to meet with General Patterson, whose army had arrived on the Potomac a day earlier. Hicks and his party, which included General Shriver, met the officers and toured the soldiers' camps. The June 19 *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light* reported that a crowd of citizens cheered the governor on his arrival and departure and added, "In no part of Maryland has our patriotic Chief Magistrate more warm and devoted friends than in Washington County." The next day Hicks departed for Frederick. On his journey he stopped briefly at Middletown, whose home guard he had armed in the spring from the arsenal at Frederick. The *Middletown Valley Register* wrote that while the governor was there "many admirers of the old patriot gathered around him and offered their congratulations."[73]

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stating that the General Assembly was only deterred from treasonable actions by the "unmistakable threats of an aroused and indignant people." See [Hicks], *Message of the Governor of Maryland, to the General Assembly,* 5. Some pro-South legislators from pro-Union parts of the state paid a price at home for their views. In August 1861 the homes of Senator McKaig and Delegate Josiah H. Gordon of Allegany County were stoned by unionist mobs. See *Baltimore Exchange* [undated], in Rockville *Montgomery County Sentinel*, September 6, 1861.

[73] *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 19, 1861; Middletown *Valley Register*, June 21, 1861.

The Lost Lives of George Konig Sr. & Jr., A Father-Son Tale of Old Fell's Point

TRACY MATTHEW MELTON

Friendly descriptions of East Baltimore congressman George Konig Jr. could not quite ignore his obvious failure to come up to the mark of the accepted image of a high public official. Konig, who represented Maryland's Third District in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses (1911–1913), was physically awkward with a hulking presence and unpolished mannerisms. He was squat with a thick neck and a brushy, walrus-like mustache. His ill-fitting, third-rate attire immediately tipped those he encountered to his deep Fell's Point working-class roots. Konig's speech confirmed the impression. He had a limited formal education and "was not a fluent speaker." "Perhaps he was often silent," a colleague surmised, "because he was conscious of his limitations in speech."

To those favorably disposed, these acknowledged inadequacies only made Konig's political ascendancy more inspiring. Their descriptions of the congressman painted him as a Horatio Alger figure "whose life stamps him as one of the best and most typical self-made men of his generation." In their accounts he was the son of a farmer from North Point, "near the famous battleground where, in 1812, the raw militia from Baltimore drove back and defeated the trained and seasoned British soldiers . . . saving the Monumental City from the threatened English occupation." He had come to Baltimore as a boy and worked his way up from shipyard caulker to superintendent of a stone pulverizing mill. He had spent too brief a time in the public schools to learn much but, as an adult, had taught himself to read and write. His manner was not refined, yet it disclosed a practical, commonsense intelligence.[1]

The most revealing fact of these sympathetic biographies was not their illumination of Konig's character but their own reliance on lie and deception. George Konig Jr. was only partially the man described, and his father was a wholly differ-

[1] *Baltimore Sun*, June 1–5, 1913; *New York Sun*, June 3, 1911, p. 6; *George Konig: Memorial Addresses Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, June 28, 1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 11, 17; Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912), 3:594.

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Congressman George Konig Jr., 1856–1913. (Courtesy of George Wallace Konig.)

ent character. The narratives intentionally altered the most embarrassing details of the improbable congressman's past and completely erased his intimate connection to Baltimore's violent past. The alterations and erasures unwittingly robbed Konig's personal story of its full power to inspire, and its larger significance.

George Konig Sr. was not a quiet North Point farmer but an infamous Baltimore rowdy with a seemingly supernatural gift for placing himself at the scene of the city's most awful bloodshed and riot. Konig Sr. was born in Baltimore at the close of the War of 1812—the son of a German immigrant only recently arrived. He grew up on its raucous streets. By the time the fair-skinned, light-haired boy reached maturity, he wore a prominent scar on his left arm, just below the shoulder. A blacksmith by trade, he was also a well-known carouser familiar to the night watch.[2]

Konig's first serious encounter with the law came in 1839, when he appeared

[2] George Konig Family Plot, Section C-4, Baltimore Cemetery; *Sun*, May 8, 1839 [George Conick]; George Konig, Entry #3248, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoners Records, 1811–1840 (MSA 275-1) and George Konig, Entry #3805, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoner Records, 1811, 1826–1869 (MSA 275-2), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland (MSA). Konig was pronounced "Koonicks." See *Sun*, June 1, 1913, p. 12. George was the son of George Konig or Konick (c.1785–January 28, 1856), who immigrated to the United States from Alsace before the War of 1812. His name appears in most city directories between 1819, 1840–41, and 1853–54. They list him as a drayman, laborer, and sugar refiner. He was naturalized on September 27, 1824. It appears that he, not his son, was arrested for voting illegally in 1844 and pardoned by Governor Francis Thomas in January 1845. His death notice described him as an Old Defender. See *Sun*, November 7, 1844, January 13, 1845, July 3, 1845, January 29, 1856 (death notice); Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:595; Robert Andrew Oszakiewski, comp., *Maryland Naturalization Abstracts*, vol. 1, Baltimore County and Baltimore City, 1784–1851 (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1995), 219; Baltimore city directories for this period. The designation of George

before the Baltimore City Court on several charges of larceny. Convicted by a jury of stealing a number of silk handkerchiefs, he then pleaded guilty to two other larceny charges. The consequences were severe. Assault convictions usually resulted in a small fine and perhaps a few days or weeks in jail for especially brutal beatings, but larceny convictions often meant years in the Maryland Penitentiary. Konig received consecutive penitentiary terms totaling twelve years.[3]

But Konig was resourceful. In July 1843, he won a pardon from Democratic governor Francis Thomas. According to the pardon proclamation, he was "recommended to the clemency of the Governor by the directors of the Penitentiary who represent that during the period of his confinement, his conduct has been uniformly good, and that he labours under an incurable desease of the heart, which, in the opinion of the Physician of the institution, will terminate his life in the course of a year or so; and whereas his relations are extremely desirous of obtaining his liberation from prison, in order that he may receive at their hands the attentions suitable to his condition." His family's attentions apparently succeeded, because the rascally Konig emerged strong enough to survive several dangerous encounters over a career that spanned another half century.[4]

Not long after winning his freedom, Konig again found himself in the Baltimore City Court, this time charged with "stealing certain goods, while acting apparently as a fireman at the fire in the dry goods store of the late Mr. Samuel Dallam." On the day after the blaze at Dallam's store, the *Sun* reported, "A man was arrested by the police, who was found in the store stealing. He had a quantity of silk in the large pockets of his overcoat." Two days later it added that the culprit was "George Konig, an old inmate of the Maryland penitentiary." The crime was not exceptional. Critics of the volunteer fire companies belonging to the Baltimore United Fire Department during this decade often complained that rowdy members and their associates regularly committed depredations on the community. Charges of theft were common. The jury found Konig guilty, and he received another three years in the penitentiary. This time he served the full term.[5]

Konig (January 20, 1815–November 20, 1892) as Sr. and his son Congressman George Konig (January 26, 1856–May 31, 1913) as Jr. is done to conform to the usage in Baltimore newspapers following the maturity of George Jr. in the 1870s. The process was repeated when George Jr.'s son George William Konig became an adult.

[3] *Sun*, October 18, 1839; George Konig, Entry #3248, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoners Records, 1811, 1826–1869, MSA.

[4] Pardon of George Konig, Maryland, Secretary of State, Pardon Record, 1839–1844, MSA. On conditions in the Maryland Penitentiary during this period, see Wallace Shugg, *A Monument to Good Intentions: The Story of the Maryland Penitentiary, 1804–1995* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2000), 43–71.

[5] *Sun*, January 4, 6, 1845, and July 3, 1845; George Konig, Entry #3805, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoners Records, 1811, 1826–1869, MSA. On fire company rowdyism, see Tracy Matthew

When Konig left the penitentiary on July 2, 1848, he was no longer a wayward, carousing young man but an exceptionally hard character. Besides several new scars, his arms and hands sported numerous tattoos—two anchors, an eagle, a woman and flowers, and a weeping tombstone. He also had enough age and experience to make him a man among boys on the Young America streets of Fell's Point where he took up residence. Konig soon became the most notorious figure along the Causeway, the stretch of Eastern Avenue (formerly Wilk Street) running east-west through Fell's Point. The street was a perilous collection of brothels, taverns, and grog shops frequented by the sailors, farmers, caulkers, draymen, and other laborers who worked along the docks and shipyards that lined the waterfront only a few blocks away. The Causeway often drew comparisons to New York's legendary Five Points.[6]

Konig and his wife Caroline set themselves up in a Causeway tavern that doubled as a sailors' boardinghouse and brothel. The couple had taken up together during the brief interval between George's incarcerations. In 1850 they lived in Fell's Point with their five-year-old daughter Mary, a sailor, a carpenter, and seven young women, all of whom were between the ages of nineteen and twenty-eight. Caroline herself was just twenty-three, and the crowded Konig household was as turbulent as the surrounding Causeway neighborhood. Both George and Caroline frequently found themselves in court on charges of assault and theft. Only three months after leaving the penitentiary, George faced charges of robbing a man who had been drinking at a house in the neighborhood. The man had allegedly been shown a room where he could sleep, and when he woke up his watch and money were gone. The offered evidence, though, was not sufficient for a conviction.[7]

On another occasion, police arrested Konig for beating and robbing John Foust, an Anne Arundel County farmer. The Baltimore Criminal Court grand jury indicted him along with two other men for the crime. Konig removed his trial to Towsontown in Baltimore County, where the case conveniently came before the circuit court just days before Christmas. When Foust did not appear, the state confessed a verdict of not guilty, but the farmer's original account of the robbery remained as a glimpse of a stranger's night on the Causeway:

Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2005), 11–30.

[6] George Konig, Entry #3805, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoners Records, 1811, 1826–1869, MSA. For terrific histories of Fell's Point, see Norman G. Rukert, *The Fells Point Story* (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, Inc., 1976) and Lawrence A. Peskin, "Fells Point: Baltimore's Pre-Industrial Suburb," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 97 (2002): 153–73.

[7] 1850 U.S. Census, Baltimore City, Maryland, Second Ward, p. 205. Most Baltimore city directories during the 1850s list George Konig as keeping a tavern at three different addresses on Eastern Avenue. For the incidents involving the Konigs, see *Sun*, September 27, 1848.

> It appears that during that lonely hour of night he was walking leisurely along one of the streets near the Causeway, when he was joined by a party who induced him to enter a low groggery [Konig's house] on Eastern avenue. Whilst there, various means were resorted to in order to his amusement, during which the enlivening bowl passed around the festive board in such quick succession that it was not long before Mr. Foust . . . became a little oblivious, whereupon he repaired to the yard of the house, and was there violently knocked down, beaten and robbed of gold and silver amounting to $15, and several promissory notes of considerable value to him.[8]

George and Caroline were involved in numerous affrays. In a confrontation in a house on the Causeway, a man stabbed George Konig and Susan Jackson, another neighborhood resident whom police often arrested for keeping a brothel and fighting. George's wounds were "said to be of a dangerous character by the physician in attendance, having been inflicted in the abdomen and back." His most well-publicized street encounter also occurred on the Causeway.[9]

Konig's greatest neighborhood rival was James Manley, a similarly rough character who, with his brawling wife Ann, also kept a boardinghouse and brothel just a few doors down from George and Caroline. According to a later description, Ann's was proprietor of "a bawdy house on the Eastern Avenue, well known to everybody." The dispute between the two men likely grew out of some combination of personal hostility, business competition, and political differences. During a period of sharp partisan conflict, when violence was fast becoming a significant aspect of local politics, Manley was a Whig, Konig a Democrat. Each was prominent among his party's fighting men. When Manley's Whig Party elected John H. T. Jerome as mayor in the fall of 1850, he received an appointment as a night watchman in the eastern district. In the spring of 1851 he and Konig apparently argued at the district station house. Threats followed.[10]

[8] Quotation appears in *Sun,* July 18, 1855. See also *Sun,* July 20, 1855, October 18, 1855, and December 22, 1855; *Baltimore Republican,* July 20, 1855.

[9] *Sun,* October 10, 1848.

[10] Testimony of James W. Duncan, *Record of Proceedings of the Investigation before His Excellency Thomas Swann, Governor of Maryland, in the Case of Samuel Hindes and Nicholas L. Wood, Commissioners of the Board of Police of the City of Baltimore, upon Charges Preferred against Them for Official Misconduct* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1866), 47; Transcript of the Trial of James Manley for Assault with Intent on George Konig, October 1853, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, Pardon Papers, 1858, MSA; *Sun,* October 8, 1853. On James and Ann Manley's violence and their connection to theft and prostitution, see *Sun,* February 13, 1844, October 19, 1844, November 6, 1844, September 1, 1845, November 10, 1845, December 9, 1845, January 31, 1846, January 29, 1847, February 1, 1847, February 16, 1847, April 27, 1847, May 17, 1847, August 28, 1848, October 7, 16, 1848, February 22, 1849, June 12, 1849, September 5, 1849, October 4, 8, 1849, and December 8–9, 1852. In 1866, Manley testified, "I have

On May 8, Jim and Ann Manley passed by a house where Caroline stood in the door. Manley allegedly ordered his wife to whip the "damned bitch" or he would kill Ann herself. Konig warned them off, but Manley returned with his friend Edward Hall. Konig met them at the door of Wadlow's tavern, where he had gathered with several friends. Angry words were exchanged. Konig's friends claimed Manley poked at him, challenging him to fight. Manley's friends countered that Konig drew a long, white-handled knife and threatened to kill him. Manley drew a pistol and fired two shots point-blank at Konig. One ball struck him in the chest and passed through his body, lodging beneath his shoulder blade, directly under the skin. The other hit him in the back, barely missing his spinal column. The headline in the following day's *Sun* announced, "A Man Shot—Not Expected to Recover." Doctors removed the ball beneath the shoulder blade but could not locate the one that had entered his back. Despite the severity of the wounds, Konig's physical resilience was remarkable and his condition slowly improved.[11]

Eleven weeks later, just as Konig began to get around again, Manley's family and friends confronted him on the Causeway, at its intersection with Caroline Street. James "Bull Head" Barnes, a police officer, attempted to arrest Konig on a peace warrant, but his would-be prisoner refused to go along, fearing that the arrest was a ruse by Manley's friends to get hold of him. Political leaders often appointed the roughs aligned with their party to the force, where they could use their authority to harass neighborhood rivals. Barnes ran with the same men as Manley and was accompanied by several other members of the same circle, including Manley's half-brother William Welsh, Francis "Cutting Tobe (Toby)" Connolly, and well-known Fell's Point hitter William "Big Bill" Howard. Konig had call for concern.[12]

Aided by his friends, Konig escaped into Wadlow's tavern and then into his own nearby house, where he barred the door. The crowd with Barnes tore up paving stones and hurled them against the door and through the windows, all the while allegedly crying, "Rally on—rally on, boys, let's kill the son of a bitch, and if we can't kill him, let's pull his house down." Konig appeared at an upstairs window and warned them off, then fired several shots into the street. One ball struck Welsh in the leg. Konig's friends swore they saw Cutting Tobe stride into the middle of the street, bare his chest, and call, "Shoot me, you _____." "Give the warrant to Cutting Tobe," they heard others shout, "and he will arrest Konig."[13]

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been an old whig all the time, and whatever side they take, I take." See *Record of Proceedings*, 113. On James and Ann Manley, see also *Record of Proceedings*, 24, 26, 39.

[11] Transcript of the Trial of James Manley, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA; *Sun*, May 9–10, 12, 1851, and October 6–10, 1853.

[12] *Sun*, November 12, 15, 1853. For a detailed discussion of the partisan nature of the police force in this period, see Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*.

[13] *Sun*, November 12, 1853.

At the November election, many of the same men clashed on the streets around the Second Ward polls. Those involved included George Konig and Charles James, a boarder in Konig's house, on one side and Big Bill Howard, Bull Head Barnes, and Cutting Tobe on the other. The fight became a running battle that spilled into the nearby Third Ward. Charley James and Cutting Tobe squared off with knives and cut dangerously at each other. One of them, probably Tobe, ran and the other pursued. Both men tripped over curbstones and fell to the pavement. Konig's friends claimed that Tobe then rose quickly, grabbed James, turned him over, and drove his knife into the sprawled man's chest, killing him instantly. Tobe's friends disagreed, declaring that James had fallen on his own knife and had died accidentally.

The coroner's inquest was held in Konig's house on the Causeway, where Charley James's body had been taken. The location of the inquest was not unusual—coroners often held them where the body lay—but in this case politics were involved. The arrangement gave Konig and his friends a great deal of physical control over the proceedings. The jury, which Konig may well have helped to select, concluded that Tobe had killed James. At the subsequent trial, though, defense witness testimony that Tobe had struck no blows led to an acquittal. Announcement of the verdict led to "disreputable" cheering from "the blackguards" who made up "a crowd of the friends of the prisoner." Charley James was one of the first election-day victims of the emerging organized ruffianism and an unfortunate harbinger of future political violence.[14]

Over the succeeding months, George and Caroline Konig continued their brutal ways. In June 1852, George reportedly went to a house on Hammond's alley to cowhide one of the inmates there. A "man named Hall," perhaps Manley's friend Edward Hall, or a relative, protecting himself and his friends, hit George in the head with an axe, causing a severe but not dangerous wound. An account of the incident described George as "somewhat notorious in police annals." Police arrested Caroline and another woman for a beating at a dance on the Causeway that December.[15]

Legal maneuvering delayed the start of Manley's trial for assault with intent to kill Konig until October 1853. After hearing conflicting accounts given by friends of both men, the jury retired briefly and returned to the courtroom with a guilty verdict. Judge Henry Stump sentenced him to six years in the penitentiary. Not long afterward—the proceedings being linked in the opinion of the court—Konig stood trial for shooting Welsh. In his charge to the jury, Judge Stump declared that Konig had a right to escape if "he had good reason to apprehend violence from the

[14] Ibid., November 6–8, 1851; February 27–March 1, 1852.

[15] *Sun*, June 11, 1852, and December 7, 1852. Police took in George Konig for assaults on several other occasions during this period. See *Sun*, February 16, 1852, February 16, 1853, June 25, 1853, and August 15, 1853.

persons gathering around at the time of his arrest, and if the jury believe from the evidence that the officer making the arrest was not disposed, or not able, to protect the prisoner from the threatened violence; and therefore the officer had no rightful authority to break open his house to re-capture him during the continuance of the like fearful circumstances of impending danger to the prisoner from his pursuers." Jurors found him not guilty only after a sharp discussion of the evidence.[16]

For Manley, the timing of his conviction was especially unfortunate. Just two weeks after his sentencing voters elected Democrat Thomas Watkins Ligon governor. Ligon had practiced as a lawyer in Baltimore for two decades and understood the organized ruffianism in the city. He was not inclined to look favorably on a pardon for a well-known rough associated with the anti-Democratic element in Fell's Point. The emergence of the nativist American Party in Baltimore over the subsequent months only intensified his disinclination. Manley's friends became the fighting core of the American Party on the Point. Pardoning the convicted assailant of Konig would only aid the governor's political enemies and endanger his party friends.[17]

Americans interested in Manley's pardon were relentless on his behalf. They presented several petitions to Ligon and personally lobbied him for the favor. Letters to the governor noted Konig's reputation. One correspondent wrote that "James Manley's offence for which he is now suffering, was occasioned more by the viciousness of the person with whom he was brought into hostile collision, than by his own innate depravity, and that his pardon by His Excellency, the Governor, will excite no censure in this community." Another argued that Manley was incarcerated "for violent acts perpetrated on George Konig, who in my opinion was equally notorious, in such acts of unguarded violence, [and] who was tried and acquitted for similar acts perpetrated on the said Manley."[18]

Some letters and petitions assured Governor Ligon that Manley had reformed and would lead a better life, while others promised that he would leave the state if pardoned. Several mentioned his young son James Jr., who was a dutiful pupil at the Causeway Mission Sunday School. "The locality in which he resides with his mother, known by the name of the 'Causeway,'" petitioners informed the governor, "is inhabited by characters the most vicious and degraded, and your petitioners feel anxiously desirous for their permanent removal from the pernicious

[16] Transcript of the Trial of James Manley, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA; *Sun*, October 6–10, 25, 27, 1853, November 11–12, 14–15, 1853.

[17] On the emergence of the American Party in Baltimore, see Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill* and Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

[18] B. Marriott to Ligon, November 23, 1855; J. Mabury Turner to Ligon, no date, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA.

influences, and wicked example, and vile association—a removal which would take place in the event of the Husband and Father being pardoned by your Excellency." Despite the persistent appeals, the governor refused to grant the request.[19]

The election of American Thomas Holliday Hicks as Governor Ligon's successor in November 1857 altered Manley's prospects. Shortly after Hicks's inauguration, leading Americans began to press him for a pardon. Not much longer remained on his term, but a pardon would restore Manley's franchise. Numerous party managers signed a February 1858 petition for the governor's intervention. Daniel H. McPhail, a well-connected party operative, appended a note declaring that Manly should have been released long before. "Your predecessor steadfastly resisted the importunities of the friends of Manley and the earnest appeals of the only party, outside the law, who was injured by him," McPhail wrote. "The party injured being none other than the notorious George Konig."[20]

McPhail included a letter, signed by Konig, which asked for a pardon and offered that "the undersigned is moved by considerations growing out of a belief their [sic] was an absence of malice in the heart of Manley when he inflicted the wounds and whatever of differences existed between us found its origin in politics and believing further that he has suffered sufficiently, having now been confined for several years." Shortly after, another supporter wrote, "James Manley was sentenced several years since for a conflict with the notorious George Konig." His punishment had already been too long and should be concluded. Governor Hicks pardoned him a few weeks later. Manley left the penitentiary in March 1858.[21]

While Konig's neighborhood nemesis remained locked away, the old Causeway rascal was emerging as the Democratic boss in Fell's Point. Konig had become a steady presence on transient streets where sailors and shipyard laborers flowed in and out. He knew large numbers in the taverns and sailors' boardinghouses. He had contacts in the shipyards and along the docks where, like other neighborhood businessmen, he took a hand in shipping and the bay trade. Most importantly, Konig and his friends ran the only gang capable of contending with the local American Party roughs, who were initially headed by Big Bill Howard and later rallied as the Rough Skins. In a period when Baltimore partisans routinely

[19] Petition to Governor Ligon, no date, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA. See also another petition to Governor Ligon, no date; Henry S. Hunt to Ligon, July 26, 1854; William Binyon to Ligon, December 3, 1855; William H.H. Turner to Ligon, October 18, 1856 in the same location. Hunt and Isaac P. Cook were officials of the Causeway Mission. Both men took an active role in the campaign for Manley's pardon. Most of the other petitioners were well-known American Party politicians.

[20] Petition to Governor Hicks, February 18, 1858, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA.

[21] George Konig to Hicks, March 1, 1858; William Harden to Hicks, March 6, 1858, James Manley Folder, Maryland, Secretary of State, MSA.

resorted to force to control the polls, or at least to prevent their opponents from doing the same, a loyal fighting force, willing to confront dangerous rivals, was essential to electoral success. Konig became the head of this Democratic element on the Point. He was especially influential among the large numbers of first- and second-generation German-Americans living there.[22]

From the earliest days of the American Party movement, Konig was a central figure in the accompanying political ruffianism. In July 1854, just months before Baltimore Americans fielded a ticket for the first time, watchmen sympathetic to the movement raided the Causeway and whipped Konig and his friends. Among the watchmen was John Wesley Gambrill, a prominent member of the Plug Ugly American Club that was coming together in a west side neighborhood. "A number of persons were injured; and judging from the liberal use of fire-arms, clubs, and other weapons of modern warfare, it is surprising that lives were not lost." Konig soon fought a more desperate battle with Gambrill and his Plug Uglies.[23]

Americans swept the municipal election in October 1854 but failed to carry their momentum into the following year. At the subsequent municipal election, their vote totals declined across the city. They lost almost half their seats in the First Branch of the City Council, a poor showing that caused concern over the party's prospects at the coming state election only weeks away. The sudden death of the successful Democratic candidate in the Nineteenth Ward immediately afterward and the city's quick arrangement for a special ward election, though, gave both parties a prompt opportunity for another display of strength. The Plug Uglies, who operated in the adjacent neighborhood, were determined to control the Nineteenth Ward polls.

But on the day of the special election Democratic fighting men from the New Market Fire Company and a contingent from Fell's Point headed by George Konig arrived in force to challenge them. The Plug Uglies and allied Americans drove the Democrats from the neighborhood and pursued them through the streets. Police officers, trailed by a large crowd, ran after Konig and Franklin "Petty" Naff of the New Market, firing several shots at the Democrats. Konig took a ball in the back, again near his spine. The clash was the first local, large-scale election-day riot of the American Party period.[24]

The city's partisan newspapers took opposing views of Konig's role in the riot. According to an American Party newspaper, the appearance at the polls of Konig and Naff's New Market associate William "Country" Thompson triggered the riot. Democratic rowdies then fired at the police when they attempted to arrest them. Officers found a large bowie knife on Konig. The newspaper reported that

[22] *Sun*, February 28, 1852.
[23] *Sun*, July 22, 24, 28, 1854; Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 45.
[24] Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 59–63.

the critically wounded Fell's Point rowdy "has been shot and stabbed before, and will recover from injuries that would be certainly fatal to most men." Partisan allies acknowledged his dangerous character but defended his presence at polls on the opposite end of town and his behavior there. "At the time of this fracas," a Democratic newspaper wrote, "we are assured that Konig was *sober and unarmed*, having come simply from the same curiosity that drew others on the ground. Although Konig is a bad man, when he acts peaceably he should be protected, and the murderer who would shoot him down *for no offence* should be hung as high as Haman."[25]

Police officials and American Party leaders were strident in their response to the Democratic characterizations of Konig's movements. High Constable Benjamin Herring described seeing Konig at the riot. "He was far from being sober. . . . He fired two shots at officer Sutton, as he [Sutton] is ready to swear, before he [Sutton] fired at all, and after he was taken to the Station House, a dirk knife, at least fourteen inches long, was taken from him. It is now in my possession, and can be seen by anybody who is curious to see it." Americans savagely mocked Konig and his political allies with published resolutions that the Democratic City Convention *ought* to have adopted alongside those criticizing their party's role in the election riot:

> That while we lament the wound that has laid our respected fellow-citizen, George Konig, Esq., upon a bed of suffering, we feel it a duty to express our appreciation of the high character and moral worth of that gentleman. His peaceable disposition, which renders him adverse to all scenes of violence, and his endeavors at all times to maintain public order, have endeared him to all who know him, as a most efficient protector of the best interests of society, while his efforts for the reformation of the degraded inhabitants of the Causeway, his noble and self-sacrificing endeavors to elevate the condition of the convicts of the penitentiary (to which some of the best years of his life have been voluntarily devoted) and the high respect which he is recognized to entertain for female virtue and for the purity of the married state, must award him a high place in the regards of the Christian and the philanthropist.[26]

A measure of the contempt in which Americans held Konig was the extension of the mockery to his wife Caroline, an almost wholly unique violation of contemporary morality and the bounds of traditional political discourse. The same sarcastic resolutions complimented those Democratic politicians who had visited Konig

[25] *American*, October 19, 1855; *Republican*, October 19, 1855. See also *Clipper*, October 19–20, 1855; *Sun*, October 19–20, 1855.
[26] *American*, October 22–23, 1855.

and "condoled with his refined and amiable lady." The attacks on Konig and his wife were especially vicious given that he lay critically, if not fatally, wounded at the time of their publication. According to a newspaper report appearing the day after the resolutions, doctors had just surgically removed the remaining ball from his encounter with James Manley four years earlier, but their probes could not find the one received at the riot. His opponents' confidence in his resilience was not misplaced. Just weeks later an American Party newspaper, in a piece entitled "Keep a Sharp Eye on Him," warned associates in the Second Ward to be careful—Konig had his revolver heavily charged.[27]

Over the next four years, Konig fought frequently with well-known American Party roughs. In the immediate aftermath of the deadly rioting at the October 1856 municipal election, during renewed fighting in Fell's Point, a rival allegedly attempted to assassinate him. "He was chased some distance, and several shots fired at him, but so far as we could learn he escaped uninjured." The following summer, Plug Ugly leader John English, a member of the police force, arrested Konig for assault. While taking him along to the station house, English's close associate Erasmus "Ras" Levy "ran up and dealt Konig a severe blow in the face, cutting it severely."[28]

Most of Konig's violent encounters involved his American Party neighbors in Fell's Point. In 1858 alone, he brawled with Rough Skins William H. Richardson, George N. "Rudy" Stine, and William Calder (alias McElderry), as well as old political foes Bull Head Barnes and Jim Manley. His Rough Skin rivals were no less dangerous than Barnes and Manley. Richardson was a notorious offender who had been tried for the murder of a German man during rioting at the 1856 presidential election and would later be tried for another killing. Stine and Calder went to the penitentiary shortly after their confrontations with Konig for wantonly shooting a man at the Baltimore Post Office.[29]

In November 1858, Konig's name came up at the sensational trial of Plug Ugly Henry Gambrill, charged with the murder of Officer Benjamin Benton. Henry was the younger brother of John Wesley Gambrill, one of the watchmen who had participated in the raid on the Causeway four years earlier that had left Konig and several of his friends badly injured. John Pontier, an influential American Party

[27] *American*, October 23, 1855; *Sun*, October 24, 1855; *Clipper*, November 7, 1855.

[28] *Sun*, October 10, 1856 and June 25, 1857.

[29] *Sun*, January 8, 12, 1858, February 25, 1858, March 17, 1858, October 20, 1858, and November 11, 1858. On Stine, see George Stine, George Rudy, Entry #5301, Maryland Penitentiary, Prisoners Records, 1811, 1826–1869, MSA; *Sun*, July 25, 1857, September 17, 1857, and March 29–April 3, 17, 1858; *American*, March 29–April 3, 1858. On Richardson, see *Record of Proceedings*, 24, 47–48; *Sun*, February 24–26, 1857, July 25, 1857, March 29–April 3, 17, 1858, October 8–9, 30, 1866, December 5, 15, 31, 1866; *American*, March 29–April 3, 1858. For the post office shooting, see *Sun*, October 25–27, 1858.

worker, testified that he had gone with Henry Gambrill, John English, and fellow Plug Ugly James Morgan to a cellar tavern adjoining the Baltimore Museum on the evening of the murder. According to an account of Pontier's statement, he told the court, "Geo. Konig was in the cellar when they went in. Morgan, English and Konig had on dark clothes." Though Pontier's account of their encounter with Konig had no apparent affect on the trial's outcome, it was suggestive of the interconnectedness of rowdy circles and the ubiquitousness of the Fell's Point Democrat. Whether the men were meeting to reach an accord on the conduct of the approaching municipal elections or some other political matter, mere coincidence could not readily explain Konig's link to an incident occurring far from his own neighborhood and having no apparent relationship to his own affairs.[30]

Although Konig was only tangentially linked to Benton's death, one of the more mysterious Baltimore murders of the 1850s took the life of a member of his household. The victim was Mary Day, an "abandoned character" who lived with George and Caroline on Canton Avenue, where the couple had only recently relocated. Accounts of the circumstances surrounding Day's death in November 1859 were sketchy and incomplete. One claimed that Caroline had gone to stay with a friend because of an anticipated election-day attack on the house and that Day had gone out to a place George Konig had acquired on Bear Creek near the North Point battleground for the same reason. More was probably involved.

The following day, a man who worked for Konig on the North Point property reported finding the broken stock of gun, matted with long hair and blood. Police investigating the discovery found bricks evidently missing from a pile, suggesting the woman's body had been weighted and dumped in the water. Dragging the waters failed to turn up Mary Day.[31]

Three months later decomposition tore the corpse from the weights holding it to the bottom, and it washed ashore across from Miller's Island, just a few miles from Konig's place. With little evidence available, the coroner's jury found that Day had died at the hands of persons unknown. No one ever stood trial for the murder, one of only a handful committed against women in and around the city during the 1850s not attributed to the victim's husband.[32]

Not long after the discovery of Mary Day's body, Caroline filed for divorce *a vinculo* in the Baltimore Circuit Court. The filing may have been the result of domestic violence. George soon stood trial for assaulting Caroline, who was a reluctant witness and only testified after being arrested on attachment and held for her appearance. When the trial came up, the court found George guilty and sentenced him to two months in the city jail. He was there in November 1860 when

[30] *Sun*, November 2, 1858. For a full account of Benton's murder, see Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill.*

[31] *Clipper*, November 5, 1859; *Sun*, November 7, 1859.

[32] *Sun*, February 18, 1860.

Republican Abraham Lincoln won the presidency but was back on the streets the following April when the crisis of the Union claimed its first lives.[33]

The long secession crisis over the winter of 1860-1861 generated unprecedented levels of excitement on Baltimore's streets. Across the divided city scores of pro-southern and pro-union associations formed, some of them publicly announced and meeting openly, others more furtive. Large numbers of citizens gathered daily to hear the latest reports and rumors. Many paraded their loyalties by shouting slogans and hallooing for their side or by wearing badges and other emblems of secession or union. Mid-April news of the bombardment and then surrender of Fort Sumter only heightened emotions. On April 18 resentment at the passage through the city of several hundred Pennsylvania volunteer infantry accompanied by a small contingent of artillerymen, and word that more soldiers from the North were on their way to defend Washington, created a dangerous moment.[34]

The next morning, April 19, almost three dozen train cars, carrying well over one thousand soldiers from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, arrived at the President Street Station just west of Fell's Point. Their route through the city took them directly past the Konig household on Canton Avenue and deposited them at President Street, only blocks away. From President Street the railroad cars would be drawn by teams of horses across the waterfront via Pratt Street to the Baltimore & Ohio's Camden Station where they would begin the final leg of their journey to Washington. That process was soon underway, and several cars, each containing a company of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, reached Camden Station before the gathering mass of citizens—some piling up paving stones, dumping sand, and dragging anchors up from the docks—blocked further passage along the Pratt Street tracks. Soldiers in the remaining cars disembarked and began a march across town to join those already waiting on a Washington-bound train. The crowd pressed them, yelling epithets and hurling stones. On Pratt Street the march stalled and the Massachusetts men found themselves surrounded by a hostile crowd, unable to advance or retreat. Shots followed, each side claiming that the other had fired first. Sixteen citizens and soldiers died during initial and subsequent fighting, the first fatalities of the Civil War.

George Konig's precise role in the Pratt Street riot always remained a matter of dispute, but his active involvement was never in doubt. A month later, police

[33] *Sun*, May 7, 1860; September 19, 24, 1860.

[34] The April 19 riot is the most written about event in the long history of Baltimore. This brief account relies primarily on local newspaper reports, as well as J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of 'Baltimore Town' and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), 788–791; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 588–612; George William Brown, *Baltimore and The Nineteenth of April, 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1887; repr., Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1982); B. F. Watson, *Addresses,*

arrested Konig on a bench warrant charging him with participation in the riot. At his trial the following September, witnesses for the prosecution remembered him as one of the most prominent members of the crowd assaulting the Massachusetts soldiers. Several identified him as the man who contemptuously paraded a "secession flag" at the head of the column as the soldiers moved away from President Street Station and onto Pratt Street, just before the first deadly confrontation. The spectacle of that flag at the head of the beleaguered column was one of the most memorable images of the day. "Konig was the first man who carried a secession flag up Pratt st. that day," one witness testified. He added that he did not know Konig "but was told that Konig was the man who carried the flag; did not see any person trying to take the flag from Konig; heard firing, and saw three persons fall in the street."[35]

Other witnesses corroborated the testimony with details that suggested he had a key role in organizing the resistance to the northern troops. One reported seeing a large crowd bearing a secession flag come up from Canton Avenue, Konig's neighborhood, to the President Street Station. They called, "Hurra for Marshal [George P.] Kane—drive the damned sons of bitches back." Konig headed the rowdy swarm, which soon began to stone and beat the soldiers. The witness testified that he asked police officers at the station to arrest the troublemakers, but they refused. Another witness identified Konig as being at the President Street Station "at the head of a crowd of men, who were cheering for the South, Jefferson Davis, and cursing the soldiers, calling them negroes, spit tobacco quids and threw mud in their faces, and swore they should not go through the city."

Other witnesses linked him directly to the deadly assault on the Massachusetts Sixth. One swore to having seen "Konig strike a soldier back of the head with a paving stone; the soldiers were frightened and ran in different directions." When a

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Reviews and Episodes Chiefly Concerning the 'Old Sixth' Massachusetts Regiment (New York: 'Old Sixth' Association, 1901); Matthew Ellenberger, "Whigs in the Streets? Baltimore Republicanism in the Spring of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 86 (1991): 23–38; Frank Towers, "'A Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves': Baltimore's Civil War Riot of April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historian*, 23 (1992): 1–27; Frank Towers, ed., "Military Waif: A Sidelight on the Baltimore Riot of 19 April 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 427–46; and Robert F. Bailey III, "The Pratt Street Riots Reconsidered: A Case of Overstated Significance?" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 98 (2003): 153–71. Several other books on Maryland during the Civil War era offer important accounts and interpretations of the April 19 riots. See especially Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland From 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

[35] *Sun*, May 21 and September 6–7, and 12, 1861. In contrast, Ann Manley allegedly sheltered the

police officer tried to take a gun from Konig, he replied, "Your captain saw it and did not say anything about it." Another said he saw the crowd returning to President Street from the riot "bearing a secession flag, and Konig about ten feet in the advance; afterwards saw Konig and Marshal Kane at the depot." Police Marshal Kane then arrested one man and asked those there, "Do you want to ruin my reputation?" He was told that they did not.

Defense witnesses did not deny that Konig was on the ground during the riot. They claimed, though, that he was more a peacemaker than an instigator. One associate claimed he "appeared merely to be walking along with the crowd who were pursuing the soldiers," another that he "appeared to be acting as a peace maker, and endeavoring to keep them quiet." Several men, including three police officers, said that Marshal Kane had put his hand on Konig's shoulder and told him, "Go and keep the mob back." He had attempted to do so.[36]

Like so many of the trials of well-known rowdies over the previous decade, politics were deeply involved in Konig's case. Two of the men who testified against him were federal police officers who held their places because of their loyalty to the federal government. The three policemen were members of the metropolitan department created in 1860 when Democrats regained control of the Maryland General Assembly. The testimony of each was entirely consistent with the interpretation of the riot offered by his political faction. Unionists in Baltimore were anxious to show that municipal officials elected in 1860 on a Reform ticket—many of them Democrats in national politics—were coordinating with the party's rowdy element to aid the rebellion, thereby providing justification for heavy-handed federal policies in the city and state. For their part, local officials were determined to portray the riots as a consequence of an oppressive Republican national administration and to defend their own actions in protecting the soldiers and preventing further bloodshed. They wanted to shift responsibility for the bloodshed from Baltimore to Washington.[37]

Despite the wildly different portrayals and obvious political motivations of most, if not all, of the witnesses in the trial, taken together they may have accurately captured the true course of developments. Konig would have been just the person to head the pro-southern crowd out of Fell's Point to the nearby President Street Station. He had long been the Democratic street boss there and knew many of the neighborhood and citywide leaders among the various pro-southern movements. They would have gone to him to assist in the organization of resistance to

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northern soldiers. According to one unionist, she "assisted the Massachusetts soldiers when they were being butchered in our streets." See *Record of Proceedings*, 25.

[36] *Sun*, September 7, 1861.

[37] One of the federal policemen was "Mr. Barnes," perhaps Konig's neighborhood rival "Bull Head" Barnes or a family member.

the troops' passage, a step that had been rumored in the hours and days immediately preceding their arrival. At the station, and later on Pratt Street, Konig and his friends would have been the type of men willing to confront armed soldiers face-to-face. The fighting in both locations differed little from the street battles and election riots they had fought with Plug Uglies and Rough Skins over recent years.

Although it is unlikely that Konig acted the part of altruistic peacemaker, he may have helped put an end to the rioting. His prior (and subsequent) career gave the lie to any assertion that he went to President Street Station and Pratt Street to urge calm. But he would have followed the orders of Marshal Kane, one of the foremost Democratic politicians on his side of the city. At President Street Station, the police marshal faced an overwhelming and immediate threat to public safety. He had no way of knowing how many were already dead and wounded and how many more would fall if the violence continued. He could certainly anticipate a wave of hostile criticism that very well could destroy his career and reputation. Regardless of his political sympathies, he could only want to separate the rowdy element from the Pennsylvania volunteers remaining at President Street so the soldiers could make an orderly retreat. Konig again would have been just the person he needed.

The unraveling of Konig's role in the Pratt Street riot provides a useful perspective on the contemporary—and later historical—debate over the size and nature of the crowd opposing passage of the northern soldiers. As Mayor George William Brown noted in his personal account of the riot published more than a quarter of a century after the event, the Massachusetts Sixth was attempting to move along a busy commercial avenue, one extremely congested every business day. News of the arrival of thousands of soldiers on their way to defend the capital naturally drew many of the curious and the angry from neighboring districts to the scene. Among the gathering throng an impassioned feeling of goodwill toward the South and a deep revulsion at the prospect of a military solution to the crisis were evident. Yet, just a small fraction of this crowd would have been willing, on that day, to fight hand-to-hand with musket-wielding soldiers in defense of the South. Ordinary citizens tended to shy from such violence.

According to Brown, who had placed himself at the head of the marching Massachusetts companies, the main attack "was from the mob pursuing the soldiers from the rear," the direction of President Street Station, where the Konig crowd had appeared. According to Brown, this mob "was not very large." The intensity of the conflict escalated after both those in the group behind and soldiers began to fire at one another. Many of the fatalities occurred when the Massachusetts soldiers, unable to fire at those behind, unloaded on those standing alongside. The mayor's denial that this trailing group displayed organization or "concert of action" was more a subtle point made in defense of his city than a dependable statement of what was happening at the rear of the column, which, in any

case, would have been difficult for him to observe from his place. The more organized the assault, the more justified the Massachusetts Sixth's deadly response.

Considered together, Brown's account and testimony from Konig's trial, as well as other descriptions, suggest that the Pratt Street riot resulted from dynamics more similar to earlier Know Nothing riots than to any broader assault by an outraged citizenry. The deadly affair appears to have been the result of attacks made on the Massachusetts Sixth by a relatively small group of experienced rowdies in the midst of a much larger crowd, made up of thousands whose reasons for being on the ground were varied and often had nothing to do with the northern soldiers. The size and attitude of the crowd had only an indirect impact on the extent of the violence and was a poor measure of the depth and breadth of feelings of those within it. Jammed streets made it harder for the soldiers to maneuver and increased the likelihood that errant shots would strike bystanders.[38] The hostile attitude heightened the sense of danger among the surrounded soldiers, but it was Konig and his friends who drove events. His prominence on April 19 only confirmed what the Know Nothing political riots had conclusively demonstrated—experienced fighting men like Konig were always at the heart of the battle. The Pratt Street riot was more revealing of the deep legacy of the organized ruffianism that had plagued the city during the previous decade than of the attitude of the people on Pratt Street on April 19.

Konig paid heavily for his participation in that historic event. The Baltimore County jury hearing his case found him guilty of rioting, and the court sentenced him to one year in jail. Not long after, in November 1861, the United States Circuit Court indicted Konig—along with more than a dozen other men, including John Merryman—for treason against the United States for the transactions of April 19 and the days following. When he left jail in September 1862, he gave bail to appear in federal court. After the original indictment had been quashed for informality, the federal circuit court again indicted him in July 1863. At the time, he was "said to be absent from the city." In April 1864, the court finally agreed to an entry of *nolle prosequi* (the prosecution will not proceed) in the case, ending the federal government's prosecution of Konig. The same month, he was back in Baltimore to stay.[39]

Konig's wartime movements were obscure, though certainly tumultuous, but his sympathies were clear. In March 1863 police arrested him with several other men for cheering Jefferson Davis and singing Confederate songs. The arrest occurred only shortly before he turned up missing from the city. After the war, a Fell's Point political opponent who named him as one of the "avowed rebels" who had too quickly regained his franchise claimed that he helped "the Southern Confed-

[38] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 49–50. For an excellent discussion of the historical debate on the size and nature of the crowd, see Towers, "A Vociferous Army."

[39] On Konig's conviction for rioting, see *Sun*, September 7 and 12, 1861. On his indictment for treason, see *Sun*, November 7, 1861, September 11, 1862, July 29, 1863, and November 12, 1863.

eracy, by running down provisions to them, and aiding them in other ways." If mere neighborhood rumor or malicious lie, the claim was plausible. Konig's connections on the docks and his familiarity with the bay trade provided expertise enough to run contraband.[40]

At the end of the war, Konig took an active role in the reconstruction of the Democratic Party organization on Fell's Point. He allegedly scuffled with several of his old American Party rivals who were acting as special policemen at the state election in November 1866. The legislature chosen at the polls that day was responsible for pushing through the state convention that wrote a new constitution and for several other important city and state measures that enabled an alliance of Democrats and Conservative Unionists to win control of Maryland the following year. He sometimes represented the Second Ward as a delegate to Democratic Conservative conventions. His closest political friends were the Slaters, an influential East Baltimore family. His friend Robert J. "Doc" Slater ran a nationally famous gambling house on Calvert Street.[41]

Konig's violence slowed but did not abate. At the close of a special city council election in the Sixth Ward in November 1872, gunfire suddenly erupted during a confrontation between Republican and Democratic conservative partisans, most of them holding federal or municipal appointments. Witnesses testified to hearing dozens of shots. By the time the parties disengaged, one boy, the stepson of a watchman at City Hall, was dead on the ground. At least three others received balls, including Konig, who took one in the hip. He was found propping himself up against a lamp post. One account described him as "a well-known ward politician living in East Baltimore." The old Causeway rowdy was fifty-seven years old.[42]

Original court records for these indictments appear in a large logbook titled "District Court 1860 to 1867," Criminal Cases, September Term 1861 and a large logbook titled "Circuit Court 1863 to 1873," April Term 1863 and Cases Continued to November Term 1863 in Dockets, 1790–1877, United States Circuit Court, Fourth Circuit, Maryland District in Circuit Court, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. These records show the original indictment quashed on May 6, 1863. In the United States District Court, Konig's presentment was filed on September 17, 1861, a bench warrant issued on October 2, 1861, and an indictment filed on October 12, 1861. The case then went to the United States Circuit Court. Konig and the others charged for treason were indicted in the Circuit Court on November 12, 1863, and their cases continued on April 30, 1862, and November 6, 1862. An entry in the November Term 1863 logs shows Konig posting bail for his recognizance on April 18, 1864.

[40] *Sun*, April 1, 1863. For the *nolle prosequi*, see George Konig entry, "Circuit Court 1863 to 1873," November Term 1863, United States Circuit Court, Fourth Circuit, NARA, Philadelphia. For the charge of running contraband to the South, see *Record of Proceedings*, 104.

[41] *Sun*, November 7, 19, 1866, April 23, 1867, September 17, 1869, May 30–31, 1876, June 4, 1879.

[42] *Sun*, November 8–11, 1872. The dead boy, Isaac Boss, was the stepson of John Bosley, one of the men indicted with Konig for treason.

After the war, the Konig family had moved to Block Street, a short lane bisecting the toe end of Fell's Point, from the drawbridge at the entrance of the City Dock at the mouth of Jones Falls to the neighborhood docks. The waters of the Patapsco River surrounded the street on three sides. George lived with his wife Caroline—the couple having reconciled before their divorce was complete—and their children. Through the 1870s he worked as a blacksmith in the local shipyards, where his sons George Jr. and William also found work as caulkers. In 1880 he took his reward for his long service to the Democratic Party—a sinecure as keeper of the municipally run drawbridge, just steps from his door. Four years later, William became his assistant, possibly because of his father's age or failing health. Caroline died in September 1892. Her seemingly invincible husband followed less than three months later.[43]

Konig's public reputation never softened. In 1887 political reformer John K. Cowen, in a lengthy account of the connection between the criminal class and the regular Democratic organization, wrote, "Time would fail me to tell of George Konig, keeper of the drawbridge . . . and of the host of worthies who, through 'faith and patience,' have all inherited something or other." At his death one description could only neutrally observe, with bland understatement, "Mr. Konig was prominent in democratic political circles in the second ward."[44]

George Konig's astounding penchant for violence had to have been an overwhelming presence during the childhood of George Jr. and his siblings. Born January 26, 1856, George Jr. was in Caroline's womb when the Plug Uglies shot his father at the Nineteenth Ward polls and newspapers derided his parents' character. He was a toddler when his father returned from brutal encounters with Americans Ras Levy, Jim Manley, and William H. Richardson. Mary Day's disappearance and the recovery of her decomposing body bracketed his fourth birthday. The April 19 riot and his father's subsequent arrest and imprisonment occurred before his sixth birthday; the shooting at the Sixth Ward polls before his seventeenth. Domestic violence and the stormy relationship between his parents could only have been terrifying to the young boy. The horrific scars marking his father's body—close to a dozen of them torn by pistol balls or carved with blades—could only have made the violence graphically real.[45]

[43] Both George and Caroline Konig testified at the inquest into the death of Benjamin Jones, killed by William H. Richardson in October 1866, indicating they were together at that time. See *Sun*, October 8, 1866. For the additional information on the Konig's residence and occupations, see George Konig in 1870 U.S. Census, Baltimore City, Maryland, Second Ward, p. 367 and Baltimore city directories for these years. For his appointment as keeper of the drawbridge (and William's assistant), see, for example, *Sun*, February 12, 1884 and February 25, 1886. For their obituaries, see *Sun*, September 5, 1892 and November 21, 1892.

[44] *Sun*, January 24, 1887.

[45] For Konig Jr.'s birth date, see George Konig Jr., Death Certificate #C65,058, Reel #CR48,159,

After the family settled on Block Street, George Jr. spent the remainder of his adolescence on the busy thoroughfare, a popular shortcut between the downtown and Fell's Point docks. He claimed to have only spent ten months in the city's public school, instead working a succession of jobs on the Fell's Point waterfront. "My first real hard work," he told a biographer, "was with the fishermen, and when I was only six and a half years old I used to go out in the boats with them and help pull in the heavy nets, but it all gave me strength for the years to come and prepared me for harder battles." For five years, he alternated between the boats and the packing houses in the neighborhood. When he was eleven, he got a place in a shipyard on Fell Street and remained there for several years. George Jr. moved over to the shipyard of Skinner & Booz where he worked first as an oakum boy and then a caulker.[46]

For a time it looked like George Jr. might follow the path of his father. He was a carouser. "I was one of those careless fellows," he admitted, "intent only upon drawing my pay envelope on Saturday night and just seeing how fast I could spend my money. I was always out for a good time." He also flirted with political rowdyism. At the November 1875 state election, one of the most contentious of the post–Civil War era, police arrested him for assaults at the polls. Two partisans later testified that he had assaulted a white man attempting to get a black man into line in one precinct and interfered with two black voters in another. The Criminal Court found him guilty of at least one of the assaults and fined him twenty dollars.[47]

After spending some time in the Ship Caulkers' Union, George Jr. had a revelation. "I joined the union and went to the meetings, and finally came to the conclusion that the president and other officers of the union were substantial men—men who did not carouse and drink and who were certain in their work. This put me to thinking, and I said to myself: 'George Konig, which are you going to be? A leader or a follower?'" He immediately directed his efforts toward self-improvement. The young caulker was rejecting the ways of his father.[48]

George Jr. began an autodidactic pursuit of the education that he had missed in childhood. "I bought a primer and an arithmetic and several other books to start on, and started for home. . . . I studied every night and wrestled with those books, first learning the letters and piecing out the words slowly. Hard work? It

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Baltimore City Death Certificates, MSA; George Konig Family Plot, Section C-4, Baltimore Cemetery. The Biographical Directory of the United States Congress and other sources incorrectly list it as 1865.

[46] Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:595. George Jr. first appeared in *Woods's Baltimore City Directory* in 1873, as a caulker living at 97 Block with his family.

[47] *George Konig: Memorial Addresses*, 12; *Sun*, November 9, 15, 1875, January 14, 1876. Initial arrest reports listed him as George Konig Jr. Subsequent testimony referred to him as George Konig.

[48] *George Konig: Memorial Addresses*, 12.

was the hardest job I have tackled. It was worse than pulling in those nets, but I plugged along and made some headway." He soon became president of his union and later served as an active official in District Assembly 41, Knights of Labor.[49]

The young caulker tried his hand at several different jobs. He moved to Norfolk, Virginia, for a time—his only extended stay away from East Baltimore—but returned during a yellow fever epidemic. He briefly worked at the nearby Baltimore Chrome Works and, just about the time his father became keeper of the city drawbridge, received an appointment as a police officer. After leaving the force around 1881, he went back to the caulking trade, where he remained employed on the ships for more than a dozen years. For most of this period, he served as treasurer of the caulkers' union. In the mid-1890s, George Jr. became superintendent of the Fells Point Odorless Excavating Company, which operated wagon trucks used to pump out sinks, wells, cellars, and cesspools. He was in the sewage business for several years.[50]

When twenty-eight, George Jr. married Margaret Schroeder. A friendly biography claimed that Margaret shared "her husband's kindness of heart, in this, as in all else, was his sympathizing helper and, like him, she has many friends who warmly appreciate her genuine personal worth and lovable disposition." The description provided a gratifying contrast to the published reports of George Jr.'s mother Caroline. The couple lived first on Block Street with the Konig family before briefly establishing their own residence on Bond Street. Around the time of George Jr.'s appointment as a police officer they returned to Block, where Margaret ran a small grocery, and remained there until the 1890s. They moved from Block to Wills and then Lancaster Street extended (Fait Avenue). During these years, George and Margaret raised a son, George, and four daughters—Mary Caroline (Carrie), Emma, Margaret, and Sarah (Sadie)—along with two adopted daughters.[51]

Like his father, George Jr. was a loyal Democrat. During his early adult years he devoted most of energy to his work and union activities and rarely appeared directly involved in the management of party affairs. In June 1884, George Jr. won election as a delegate to the Democratic Conservative legislative convention, which in turn named delegates to the coming state convention, but he did not often appear on winning primary tickets. His father's ties to the Slater faction likely hampered his early political career. Rival Isaac Freeman Rasin consistently bested the

[49] Ibid.; Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:595–96.

[50] Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:595. *Woods's Baltimore City Directory* lists him as a police officer in 1880 and 1881.

[51] Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:596. The various residences of the Konig family are found in Baltimore city directories for these years. Margaret is listed as keeping a grocery in the 1883 and 1884 directories.

East Baltimore leader in party primaries and conventions during the 1880s, finally driving him into retirement at the end of the decade. Only after the retirement of Slater and the death of George Sr. in November 1892 did he begin to align himself with Rasin and to emerge as a Democratic leader in East Baltimore. In October 1895 he again served as a delegate to a nominating convention. Within four years, he was a nominee for the First Branch of the Baltimore City Council.[52]

Konig narrowly lost his first election but soon established himself as one of the most successful campaigners in East Baltimore. His years living there had made him friendly with a large number of his neighbors, many of whom he would have encountered at the drawbridge where his father and brother worked or on Block where he lived and his wife kept store. He would have talked with others on the docks and in the shipyards where he was employed. All of the neighborhood caulkers were acquainted with him. He had met others on his police rounds and at political meetings. His move to Canton only expanded the number of people who knew him. His natural gregariousness gave him the ability to turn these numerous acquaintances into friendships.

In May 1903, Konig succeeded in winning the First Ward seat in the First Branch. The election was extremely close. Konig won by fewer than a hundred votes. His victory came despite a majority for the defeated Republican mayoral candidate of more than two hundred votes in the ward. After the results became known, he showed up at the Eastern District police station. "He sought a chair in Captain McGee's office and mopped his brow with an air of great satisfaction. 'I made the fight of my life!' he exclaimed."[53]

The freshman councilman won a reputation for honesty and hard-headed diligence during the difficult days following the great firestorm that destroyed downtown Baltimore in February 1904. During the 1905 campaign, when Konig successfully gained reelection, even the Municipal League, which worked for more efficient government and vigorously opposed the regular Democratic organization, reluctantly acknowledged that he had sometimes acted in the public interest: "During this term he was closely associated with 'Bill' Garland, always thoroughly partisan and not beyond the control of the party bosses, though on some measures his vote was well cast."[54]

Konig's 1905 reelection came after he had failed to win support for the Democratic nomination for a seat in the Second Branch. The seat encompassed a district that included the lower six wards in East Baltimore. Party leaders reportedly thought that Konig would be the strongest candidate for his current place and would not find deep support in the neighborhoods above Fell's Point and Can-

[52] *Sun*, June 4, 1884, October 3–4, 1895, and March 17, 29, and 31, 1899; Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:596.
[53] *Sun*, April 8, 1903, p. 1; April 9, 1903, p. 12; May 6, 1903, p. 2.
[54] *George Konig: Memorial Addresses*, 13; *Sun*, April 28, 1905, p. 12; August 13, 1910, p. 12.

ton, where he then lived. They also worried because his name had been tarnished during recent criminal trials for naturalization frauds committed by Baltimoreans in Carroll County. In trial testimony, Konig and his friend William J. "King Bill" Garland, a Third Ward leader especially popular among the numerous Eastern European immigrants who lived and worked in the factories and workshops in East Baltimore, had been implicated. He instead returned to the First Branch but again made the run for the Second Branch in 1907. His success in that election gave him visibility in a large district, which made up the core of the Third Congressional District. Konig then turned his ambition toward becoming the representative from this district, which Republicans had controlled in every Congress but one over the previous fourteen years.[55]

Reports ranked Konig as a dark-horse candidate when jockeying began for the Third District Democratic nomination in July 1910. Despite the odds against him, Konig promised to win the nomination "if hard work and hustling count for anything." His wife Margaret was committed to the campaign: "Mrs. Konig is as much interested in the struggle as is her husband. She firmly believes that victory will crown his efforts." He gained the backing of an impressive array of party leaders—including John J. "Sonny" Mahon who had become city boss following the death of Rasin in 1907. He crisscrossed the district meeting with voters. His extended personal network was a trump. "They all know George Konig in this section," he said, referring to himself in the third person, "I don't have to tell people who I am. They are all my friends and my success has been due to them. Why? Because I listen to the most humble of the humble; and the 'big bugs,' well, I just can['t] stand them."[56]

Konig rode streetcars and walked the streets. When the task of meeting face-to-face with enough voters to carry the Democratic congressional primary became too arduous, he spent a day riding the district in an automobile, dubbed a "bubble wagon." His campaign came under scrutiny for violations of the recently passed Corrupt Practices Act when he admitted buying beer for his friends. At the August primary election, though, Democrats rewarded his hard-fought retail campaign with their nomination. Ten weeks later, he defeated the Republican incumbent and secured a seat in Congress.[57]

[55] *Sun*, February 12, 1905, p. 16; February 19, 1905, p. 16; February 24, 1905, p. 7; February 26, 1905, p. 16; February 28, 1905, p. 7; March 1, 1905, p. 7; March 5, 1905, p. 16; March 15, 1905, p. 12; March 16, 1905, p. 8; March 18, 1905, p. 7; April 5, 1905, p. 12; April 28, 1905, p. 12; May 3, 1905, p. 1.

[56] *Sun*, July 28, 1910, p. 12; August 2, 1910, p. 14; August 10, 1910, p. 14; August 11, 1910, p. 12; August 13, 1910, p. 12; August 14, 1910, p. 9; August 16, 1910, p. 12; August 17, 1910, p. 14; August 21, 1910, p. 16; August 23, 1910, p. 14; August 24, 1910, p. 14; October 18, 1910, p. 16.

[57] *Sun*, August 26, 1910, p. 14; August 27, 1910, p. 14; August 31, 1910, pp. 1–2, 14; September 1, 1910, p. 14; November 9, 1910, p. 2.

Doubts that the new congressman possessed the requisite abilities for his office were widespread—he was even a bit of a joke. "When George Konig was elected a Member of this House there were many people who smiled; who wondered the kind of Representative his limited educational qualifications would enable him to make; who waited with curiosity his advent in the councils of our Nation," his West Baltimore congressional colleague J. Charles Linthicum, a successful lawyer, later recalled. A New York newspaper reported that there was "a tendency in some quarters to decry his merits and regard him as a breezy and amusing character who got into Congress by a fluke." Many observers "expected George Konig to make a laughing stock of himself when he spoke his first piece in Congress."[58]

His friend Sonny Mahon, himself an old political hitter from the Marsh market neighborhood at the head of the downtown docks, later published an anecdote about the new congressman. The story revealed Mahon's natural gift for leadership and Konig's determination to better himself. According to Mahon, Baltimore County Congressman Fred Talbott complained about Konig's shabby clothing: "It ain't right. He don't do himself justice and it hurts the reputation of the State. I wish you would talk to him."[59]

Mahon was hesitant to bring up the issue with his friend. "George Konig was a pretty handy man with his fists and right touchy about things. I knew mighty well that anybody who started in to criticize his personal appearance had better be prepared for a fight, because they certainly would get one." Instead, Mahon brought up the issue in a roundabout way while the politicians were playing pinochle at the Democratic Club. " 'George,' I said, 'I tell you one thing. I can go to Philadelphia or Boston or New York, or any old place, and tell a Congressman as soon as I see him."

"You're a smart fellow, ain't you?" Konig replied.

Mahon said that he simply knew how to recognize them. "I can tell them because every durn one of them wears a brand new black hat, a black frock coat, gray pants and patent leather shoes. That's how I tell." Konig seemed to ignore the remark. "But the next time I saw him," Mahon claimed, "he had on the whole uniform and had thrown a red rose in his button-hole on his own hook. Moreover, he never took them off until they wore out. He never wore anything else." When Talbott asked Mahon how he had done it, he just answered, "Tact and diplomacy."

After recounting the anecdote in his newspaper autobiography, Mahon wrote, "George Konig was one of the best friends I had in the world and no better man ever ran for Congress in that district in my recollection. He was a good Councilman, a good Congressman and a good friend."[60]

[58] *George Konig: Memorial Addresses*, 17–18; *New York Sun*, June 3, 1911, p. 6.
[59] *Sun*, "Sonny Mahon's Own Story," October 1, 1922.
[60] Ibid.

During his time on Capitol Hill, Konig won over many of his doubters. In his maiden speech, he announced his support for the admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union. His support was given despite strong reservations about a provision in the Arizona constitution for recalling judges. He offered some homespun wisdom to explain his opposition to recall: "It is a well-known fact that the statesman gives the people what they ought to have; the politician gives them what they want. Look out, therefore, my friends, lest ye make a politician out of the judge." The same New York newspaper that had described the amusement over Konig's membership in Congress applauded the speech. Admitting he was not an orator, it credited him with being "a plain man with a well developed bump of common sense and a modest gift of idiomatic English. And he has no mean turn for epigram too."[61]

Konig worked most diligently on behalf of the first- and second-generation immigrants—many of them Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia—living in his district. He became a member of the Immigration Committee. He introduced a bill to reform the naturalization process and one to aid surviving immigrants who had lost all in the *Titanic* tragedy. On the floor, he spoke in favor of a resolution providing for the abrogation of a treaty with Russia on grounds that the country had violated its obligations by discriminating against American Jews when it failed to recognize their passports. According to Konig:

> A Pole, a Bohemian, an Italian, a German, an Irishman, a Jew, when once he swears allegiance to our Constitution and renounces the land of his birth becomes thenceforth an American citizen . . . and as such he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of American citizenship. The most fundamental right of an American citizen is the right to worship his God as he sees fit.[62]

The East Baltimore congressman seemed very secure in his place when he easily won reelection in 1912. "The people of the Third district stood behind me," Konig said after the election, "To them, my own people, I owe my victory. Any man with a spark of gratitude in his heart, if he was not moved by anything else, would be led to serve them faithfully in the office to which they had elected him. That I will do to the best of my power." Shortly after taking his seat in the new

[61] *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, May 23, 1911, p. 1523; *New York Sun*, June 3, 1911, p. 6.

[62] *George Konig: Memorial Addresses*, 13; H.R. 8775, A Bill to amend an Act entitled "An Act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," 62nd Congress, 1st Session, May 5, 1911; *Sun*, June 2, 1913; *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, December 13, 1911, p. 332.

Congress, though, he contracted pneumonia. A little over a week later, on May 31, 1913, Konig told his family, "I am ready to go." He died that day.[63]

The extensive "affection and esteem" felt for Konig in East Baltimore was evident at his funeral. A throng gathered at his house on Eastern Avenue, across from Patterson Park. Along the procession to St. Bridget's Catholic Church, the streets "were lined on both sides with thousands of people." "From many of the houses hung flags at half-mast and trimmed with crape." At St. Bridget's, three girls from St. Stanislaus' Catholic School followed the casket down the aisle bearing a wreath of roses with American and Polish flags. The wreath was "a tribute that was bought with the pennies of hundreds of Polish children of Fell's Point." "Gathered about the grave were nearly 2,000 persons, embracing many nationalities—Scandinavian, Jew and Pole, Italian, Bohemian and Norwegian, Irish, American and German—all friends of Mr. Konig."[64]

The Konig family had a continuing influence in East Baltimore politics. The congressman's son, George W. Konig, became a neighborhood politician, eventually winning election to the Baltimore City Council. When the councilman died suddenly and scandalously in November 1933, his sister Margaret Konig Mayhew immediately emerged as a leading candidate to take his seat. Margaret frequently toured on the vaudeville circuit and wrote songs with her piano man husband Billy Mayhew. Her sharp wit and rousing spirit made her especially popular with the Democratic politicians friendly with the Konig family. When the boys congregated at the Konig house on Eastern Avenue, they often called for her company to liven up the evening.[65]

In Margaret's brief campaign she was loyal to her father's honest commitment to the betterment of the lives of his more humble neighbors. In a public statement, she applauded the family's dedication to helping those in need. "I feel that is a family tradition in that a Konig should devote a life working for the interest and welfare of the people and this should be carried on," she announced. Her election would have made her the first woman to serve in the city council. At the last moment, rival party politicians raised questions about her eligibility under a requirement that members own assessable property and possess tax receipts for the previous year and successfully derailed her bid. In 1936 she did find success in a differ-

[63] *Sun*, November 6, 1912, pp. 11, 16; June 1, 1913, p. 12.

[64] Ibid., June 5, 1913.

[65] On Councilman George William Konig (October 17, 1885–November 10, 1933), *Sun*, November 12, 1933, pp. 6, 19–20; November 13, 1933, pp. 8, 16, 20; November 14, 1933, p. 22; *Distinguished Men of Baltimore and of Maryland* (Baltimore: Baltimore American, 1914). Information on Margaret Konig Mayhew comes from interview with Mary Gloria Schuh (b. March 31, 1928) and George Wallace Konig, Baltimore, Maryland, April 22, 2006. Gloria Schuh is the daughter of Albert and Ruth Konig Schuh and granddaughter of George William Konig. In the spring of 2006, she still resided at 2733 Eastern Avenue in the house purchased by her great-grandfather George Konig Jr. in 1910.

Margaret Konig Mayhew, Baltimore politician and vaudeville performer. (Courtesy of George Wallace Konig.)

ent field when Fats Waller's recording of the Mayhews' "It's a Sin to Tell a Lie" became the best-selling song in the country. In the pop standard, lyricist Margaret tenderly wrote:

> Be sure it's true when you say "I love you"
> It's a sin to tell a lie
> Millions of hearts have been broken
> Just because these words were spoken[66]

George and Margaret's sister Mary Caroline "Carrie" Konig Kirby, a divorcée with two young sons, had married her late father's congressional secretary William Curran in 1916. Curran, the son of Irish immigrants, had grown up in a poor Eastern Avenue family and had lost his father in a construction accident while still a child. His neighbor George Konig Jr. had taken an interest in his upbringing and had helped him get ahead. Curran had become a ward worker, reportedly scouring the waterfront sailors' boarding houses "for transients to be delivered to the polls" at Konig's first successful election to the First Branch. After Konig's death, he replaced his mentor as Democratic leader in Canton and eventually became the East Baltimore boss and one of the most powerful party politicians in Baltimore. Curran

[66] *Sun*, November 16, 1933, p. 22; November 21, 1933, pp. 5, 24; November 28, 1933, p. 22. Billy Mayhew is credited with lyrics and music for "It's a Sin to Tell a Lie," but family tradition is very clear that Margaret wrote the lyrics and Billy composed the music. The claim is supported by Gloria Schuh's memory of frequently receiving poems as presents from her Aunt Margaret. Interview with Schuh and Konig, April 22, 2006. Ruth Etting, Billie Holiday, Victor Young, Somethin' Smith and the Redheads, Tony Bennett, John Denver, and many other artists have recorded the song, and it was featured in the film *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood* (2002). Interview with Schuh and Konig, April 22, 2006.

remained an influential figure until his death in October 1951, almost exactly a century after George Konig Sr.'s dangerous street confrontation with Jim Manley.[67]

During George Konig Jr.'s congressional tenure, and in memorials offered after his death, those recounting his life sanitized his personal story to make his biography conform to conventional moral standards and acceptable narrative forms. In these accounts, his background sounded almost genteel: "George (3) Konig, son of George (2) and Caroline (Forrester) Konig, was born January 26, 1856, at Northpoint, Baltimore county." His father became an unoffending farmer who had come to Baltimore with his family from the countryside. The only hint of trouble in his family's past was the brief observation that he "had accumulated some money which he lost by supporting his father in the political ventures in which the latter indulged to the close of his life." Instead of recognizing the violent past, these accounts uniformly described the family as being exceptionally poor. Descriptions of George Jr.'s own work career commended his rise from shipyard laborer to manager of a pulverizing mill, the position he held at the time of his election to Congress, but completely ignored his tenure with the Fells Point Odorless Excavating Company. Sewage was deemed too filthy a business for a future congressman.[68]

These refinements did not honor Konig more but actually diminished his achievement. They long buried a story that revealed a much harder accomplishment. Konig's climb had been more than an inspiring Horatio Alger story. He had been born not so much into poverty as the very heart of darkness. The son of an infamous couple, he had spent his earliest years in the most notorious house, on the most notorious street, in the most notorious neighborhood, in the rowdy city widely known as "Mob Town." Drunkenness, prostitution, garroting, and epic vio-

[67] *Sun*, June 2, 1913; October 5, 1951, p. 23 (Curran obituary); October 7, 1951, p. 18. George's son George William Konig Jr. (March 8, 1917–September 4, 1983) remained in the neighborhood, living with his wife Gladys Wallace Konig (December 9, 1919–November 26, 2005) at 602 South Kenwood from 1954 until his death in 1983. During World War II he received a letter from Congressman Thomas "Big Tommy" D'Alesandro Jr. passing along the message, "Your Mother, Sister, Aunt Carrie, Aunt Margaret, and Uncle Willie [Curran], are all feeling fine and send you their best wishes." After returning from army service in Europe in the war, he got a city job through his connections to D'Alesandro and other family friends. For a few years he worked on election days handing out walking-around money but eventually lost interest in politics. He worked for Bethlehem Steel and the Bureau of Highways. George and Gladys had two children—George Wallace Konig (b. October 7, 1947) and Marian Katherine Konig Beling (November 19, 1954–August 7, 2002). George teaches history in Montgomery County and lives in Catonsville with his wife Jillian and sons Sean and Ryan. His various pursuits do not include politics, which he has largely eschewed since the assassination of his Democratic hero President John F. Kennedy. Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. to Corporal George W. Konig, 39th Machine Record Mobile Unit, April 1, 1944, in possession of George Wallace Konig. Interview with Schuh and Konig, April 22, 2006.

[68] Hall, *Baltimore*, 3:595–96.

lence were his family legacy. With little beyond his own single-minded determination to advance himself and garner the public respect that his parents never had, he won the adulation of thousands of his East Baltimore neighbors and an esteemed place in national politics. By failing to tell the Konig story with ruthless honesty, these accounts erased a story with the potential to inspire others—in different places, in different times—who also face an everyday world of unrelenting mayhem.

Simon Lake, right, steering the Argonaut *in Baltimore harbor, 1897. (Naval Historical Center.)*

The Patapsco River Devil: Simon Lake and His *Argonaut*

WALLACE SHUGG

One evening in August of 1897 a wild-eyed fisherman burst into a country store near the mouth of the Patapsco River to tell his friends he had seen the devil rise from the waters. As told with evident relish in his autobiography, the devil was none other than thirty-year-old inventor Simon Lake emerging from the conning tower of his submarine *Argonaut*, his face given a sinister glow from a lamp within.[1]

Lake's as-told-to-memoir is lively but must be read with caution. Some of his claims seem exaggerated or, without sufficient detail, difficult to justify.[2] Nevertheless, his *Argonaut*—tried out in Baltimore harbor in 1897—proved to be the world's first practical submarine capable of undersea salvage and exploration. As an experimental vessel, it also gave rise to at least four features important to the development of the modern submarine: a seaworthy superstructure, level-keel submergence, bowplanes, and an early version of a periscope.[3]

Simon Lake was born September 4, 1866, in Pleasantville, New Jersey, into a family of tinkerers and inventors. By his own account he began life as a "bad boy . . . a problem child . . . a redhead little Ishmaelite who hated everyone in return." He disliked school but his early mechanical bent was noticed and encouraged by his father, who owned a foundry and machine shop. His father also sent him to study mechanical drawing at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. But in 1884, at the age of seventeen, he quit school altogether and entered his father's shop, later becoming his partner.[4]

[1] Simon Lake, *Submarine: The Autobiography of Simon Lake as Told to Herbert Corey* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938), 89–90.

[2] For example, his claim to be the first to use "hydroplanes" (bowplanes) on a submarine to maintain desired depth is contradicted by the bowplanes shown in Conrad Wise Chapman's contemporary painting of the Confederate submarine *Hunley,* which Lake may have forgotten or simply not seen. Lake, *Submarine*, 46; Wallace Shugg, "Prophet of the Deep: The *H. L. Hunley*," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 11 (February 1973), cover illustration.

[3] Lake's boat was not a true submarine, that is, able to stay submerged indefinitely, but a submersible, as indeed were all modern submarines before the advent of the first nuclear-powered submarine, the *Nautilus* (1955).

[4] Lake, *Submarine*, chapters one and two.

Wallace Shugg, a retired UMBC English professor, received the 2005 Marion Brewington Prize for this essay.

At age ten or eleven he read Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* and, as he put it, "my young imagination was fired." Thereafter he drew up plans for his *Argonaut* submarine, in which—equipped with wheels and an airlock compartment—he hoped he could travel the ocean floor and send out a diver to retrieve sunken treasure. The design for the airlock was suggested by the mechanism of an old powder horn, built to deliver a measured charge. To test these features of airlock and wheels, he built a fourteen-foot test model of pitch pine and powered by hand cranks called *Argonaut Junior*, which he demonstrated in 1894 at Atlantic Highlands in Sandy Hook Bay. Its success attracted private investors, allowing him to form the Lake Submarine Company and move on to the construction of the larger, steel-hulled *Argonaut* at the Columbia Ironworks and Dry Dock at Locust Point, Baltimore, in 1897.[5]

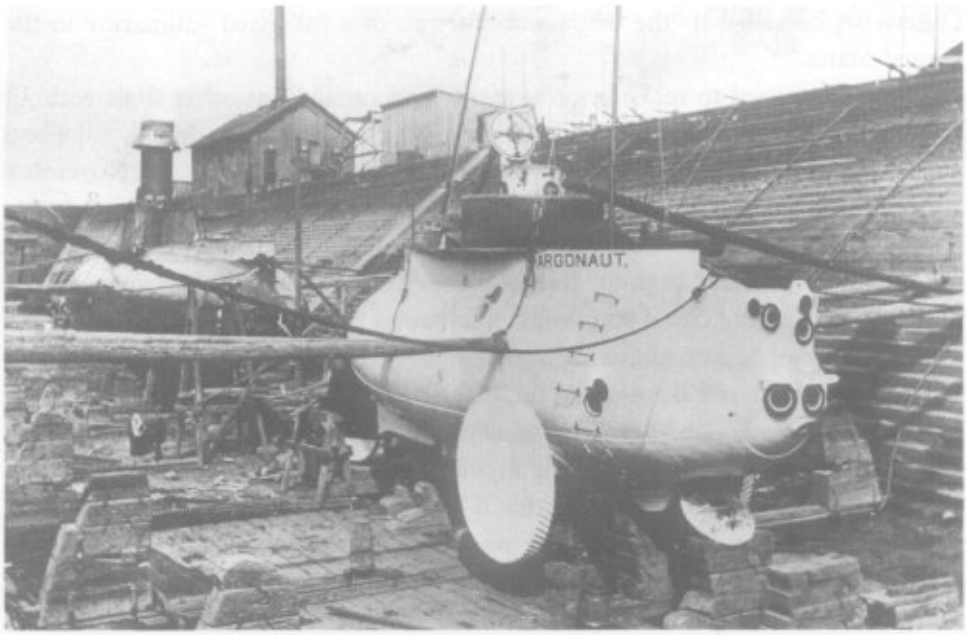
The accompanying photograph shows the *Argonaut* undergoing alterations in 1898 at the Columbia Iron Works and Dry Dock. Clearly, Lake had designed his vessel not for war but for salvage and exploration. Its large drive wheels enabled it to move along the bottom. Barely discernible in the shadow of its stern is a smaller third wheel that acted as a rudder on the surface and steered the boat on the bottom. The hatch in its bow opened out from a pressurized air lock compartment allowing a helmeted diver to exit and move around outside. This vessel had no periscope. Instead, numerous portholes were strategically placed around its cigar-shaped hull and in the conning tower for underwater observation.

Aside from the *Argonaut*'s length (thirty-three feet, nine inches) and size of its front drive wheels (seven feet in diameter), and its ground steering wheel (three feet), Lake's memoir provides few details about his boat's construction and operation.[6] Fortunately, additional details and diagrams exist in a contemporary article he authored. The boat had a White and Middleton thirty horsepower gasoline engine that drove the propeller on the surface and the front wheels on the bottom, as well as the dynamo, air compressors, and anchor hoists. Controlled submergence on a level keel was achieved by dropping two half-ton anchor weights on cables fore and aft, flooding water ballast tanks for negative buoyancy, then hauling the boat down to the bottom by winding the cables.[7]

[5] Ibid., 10–14, 59–64, 69, 72, 79. The name *Argonaut* was also that of the mythical ship carrying Jason and his crew in search of the Golden Fleece and suggests Lake's declared intention to use his vessel to recover gold bullion from wrecks.

[6] Lake, *Submarine*, 79–80.

[7] Simon Lake, "Voyaging Under the Sea," *McClure's Magazine*, 12 (January 1899), 197–98. Gasoline engines in enclosed hulls were of course considered somewhat risky. The Diesel engine that burned less volatile fuel oil was not patented until 1892 and not yet available for use in submarines. In 1929 a young navy lieutenant assigned to work inside Lake's gasoline-powered *Defender* (built 1907) refused to reenter the ship until the bilges were cleaned of gasoline. Carlton Shugg, "A Half-Century of Submarines," unpublished memoir in possession of the author.



Argonaut *undergoing alterations at the Columbia Iron Works and Dry Dock, 1898. The rival submarine* Plunger *is shown on the left. (Naval Historical Center.)*

Behind the *Argonaut* in the same dry dock photograph, the submarine *Plunger* can be seen. It was designed by Lake's chief rival, John P. Holland (1841–1914), and backed by the U.S. Navy. Lake found the Holland Boat Company to be well-organized and powerful competition. Its representatives showed up at one financial hearing, "a fearsome array of counsel . . . a benchful of eminent lawyers, backed by two or three marine engineers" who regarded Lake and his *Argonaut* with "pity and amusement."[8]

But at least in this instance, Lake was given some satisfaction. Both boats were launched in August 1897. When the *Plunger* was given her dockside submergence test "she rolled over and except for the fact that she rolled toward the dock and her conning tower caught on the wooden structure, she must have sunk. . . . We gave the *Argonaut* a trial submersion alongside the dock and she worked perfectly."[9]

The first trial run in open water nearly cost Lake and his crew their lives. After two and a half hours of cruising along the bottom, they suffered so from headaches and nausea that they were forced to the surface. The gasoline engine, Lake discovered, had a tendency to backfire, releasing deadly carbon monoxide inside the boat. Installation of an intermediate tank to trap the backfire fumes solved the problem.

[8] Lake, *Submarine*, 79, 82, 147. Congress granted the Holland Boat Company the appropriation in 1893.
[9] Ibid., 83.

Otherwise, he called it "the first successful run of a full-sized submarine in the United States."[10]

Lake continued to make improvements and carried out other trials without publicity, including the one that so frightened the fisherman. By fall, Lake had enough confidence in his boat to give a semi-public performance. On November 20 he conducted a series of trials near the Light Street Bridge lasting two hours and covering four miles. The vessel submerged and surfaced several times, then ran over hard and soft bottom. Its surface speed was judged to be five miles per hour. The trials were called successful. A full press trial would soon follow "at the express desire of Mayor Malster."[11]

But there were still skeptics out there. On the day of the full press trial, a *Baltimore Sun* reporter looked at the assignment slip from his editor. "If Lake succeeds he's worth a column. If he fails he gets an obit." As Lake dryly observed years later, "It may not have occurred to the editor that if Lake failed another reporter would have to write the obituary. For the reporter was going along with Lake."[12]

In fact, reporters from the major eastern newspapers came aboard at eleven o'clock that morning, some of them seemed visibly nervous to the *Sun*'s man in this first published eyewitness account of its trials. A crowd of curious citizens lined the railings of the Light Street bridge and looked down at the little vessel tied up at Ferry Bar, its white hull low in the water and afterworks painted red, its two masts displaying a blue flag forward with the ship's name in white letters and Stars and Stripes aft. The fifteen-foot masts, the *Sun*'s reporter discovered, were inch-and-a-half water pipes that served for air intake and engine exhaust. The conning tower looked "like a large flour barrel with portholes in its sides." Through the open hatch he saw a narrow iron ladder leading to a carpet ten feet below. The inner compartment was twenty-five feet long with barely six feet of headroom. But "comfortable seats" lined the starboard side. The port side held dials, gauges, and valves used to control water ballast and aid navigation.

To the rear could be seen a steering wheel linked to the one above on the after deck, air and water pumps, and the thirty horsepower gasoline engine. In the bow a hatch door led to the air lock compartment from which a suited diver exited to explore the river bottom. Ever the showman, Lake cooked a "light lunch" for his passengers on a portable stove.

During their hour and a half on the bottom, the crowd above could follow the vessel's course by the pipes projecting above the surface. For deeper dives, Lake

[10] Ibid., 84

[11] "Tests of the *Argonaut*," *Baltimore Sun*, November 22, 1897. The mayor had at least two reasons to promote the boat. He was president of the Columbia Iron Works & Dry Dock, builders of the *Argonaut*, and he was a stockholder in the Lake Submarine Company. See "Beneath the Waves," *Baltimore Sun*, December 17, 1897.

[12] Lake, *Submarine*, 86.

told the reporter, a hose would be attached to the air pipe, the other end floated in a boat above the surface. He intended to salvage the $30,000 in gold bullion lost when the *New Era* sank in forty feet of water off Asbury Park, New Jersey, in 1854, the location of the wreck being well known to the fishermen who found it a productive spot to fish.

Back on the surface "everybody expressed themselves as delighted with the showing made by the boat, and Mr. Lake was heartily congratulated." The reporter pronounced the public trial "an epoch-making one in the history of submarine boat construction."[13]

Despite these euphoric words, the navy continued to ignore Simon Lake and his unarmed *Argonaut*. Ever since the invention of the Whitehead self-propelled torpedo in 1868, the U.S. government—along with others abroad—was interested in having a boat equipped with this weapon. In 1897 the navy was building a flotilla of fast, non-submersible boats that could deliver a torpedo in time of war.[14] The navy eventually bought the Holland Boat Company's new submersible torpedo boat soon to be launched in New Jersey.

But someone had noticed the *Argonaut*'s successful trial. Shortly thereafter, Lake received a message from "a great New York City publisher" who wanted to discuss the sale of his boat. Though unnamed by Lake, his references to the Cuban rebel forces and the rescue of the Cuban girl Evangeline Cisneros from the clutches of the Spaniards, pointed to William Randolph Hearst, who played up the story for his newspapers hoping to spark U.S. intervention in the conflict. Lake did not meet with Hearst about the sale of his boat but was asked by one of his representatives, "Will you contract to take her to Cuba and lay some mines in places we point out?"[15]

Lake refused on the grounds of U.S. neutrality but agreed to sell his boat for three million dollars in gold bonds to the Cuban rebels for them to use as they wished. But first, they told him he would have to demonstrate the boat for a so-called Cuban admiral. Lake described the "admiral" as "tall, sinister, black-bearded, silent, slender . . . [with] a black cloak draped about his shoulders. He could have gone on the stage and played the part of First Rebel without a change."[16] With renowned Hearst correspondent Karl Decker as interpreter, the trio took the train to Baltimore and then a boat to the anchorage of the *Argonaut* off Spring Gardens, the admiral remaining silent the entire time. Once they were aboard and submerged, however, the admiral seemed "less nonchalant." When taken forward into

[13] "Beneath the Waves," *Baltimore Sun*, December 17, 1897.

[14] Indeed, only two weeks earlier a vessel of this type, the *Winslow*, also built by the Columbia Iron Works & Dry Dock, left Baltimore to join a flotilla of similar boats, *Baltimore Sun*, December 1, 1897.

[15] Lake, *Submarine*, 95–96, 98–99.

[16] Ibid., 96, 99–100.

the air-lock compartment, he became "as jumpy as a frightened girl." As air hissed into the chamber and pressure increased, "the admiral went completely mad. . . . He began to scream like a parrot." And so they had to surface. Once ashore, the admiral spotted a streetcar crossing the Light Street bridge and "he ran for it like one possessed, his long black coat streaming out behind him. I never saw him again."[17]

After the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor in February 1898 and the subsequent outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Lake sought to convince government officials of the *Argonaut*'s wartime usefulness. He took the vessel down the Chesapeake Bay to Hampton Roads, recently mined for protection against the Spanish fleet. His plan was to show the authorities that his boat could enter an enemy harbor and lay mines and cut commercial cables on the bottom. Once at Hampton Roads, he "browsed about in the channel as though the Argonaut were a peaceful old cow and the channel a pasturage filled with succulent grass. Once I drifted past a mine at a distance of five feet and saw it plainly through the window of the conning tower. . . . I traced the cables and located the mines."[18]

He took this information first to the navy and then to the army and faced a wall of disbelief. "The two services jointly held that I could not do the things I said I was doing every day, and that if I were caught doing them they would throw me in the brig. They were not very consistent, but they were at least very firm."[19]

Lake confessed to being angry and bitter. "I was thirty-two years old, full of strength as a barracuda, red-headed and, as I believed, a deeply injured man." It was galling for him not to be taken seriously. "I saw other men with other submarines get sympathetic hearings from congressional committees and naval authorities, and money and contracts. . . . I was looked on as a nut." Years later he viewed this rejection more philosophically. "It is the system that is at fault," he said, "a rigid military bureaucracy afraid to try something new, filled with people worried about promotion and afraid to stick their necks out."[20]

A rare glimpse at this time into life aboard the submerged *Argonaut* comes from Lake's logbook entry on July 28, 1898:

> Submerged at 8:20 A.M. in about thirty feet of water. Temperature in living compartment, eighty-three degrees Fahrenheit. Compass bearing west-north-west, one-quarter west. Quite a lively sea running on the surface, also

[17] Ibid., 100–102.
[18] Ibid., 106.
[19] Ibid., 106–8.
[20] Ibid., 110–13, 109. Ultimately, Lake was vindicated, but too late to be of any help. "It was not until eight years later that a board appointed by President William Howard Taft watched a test conducted off Newport and reported that this method of cutting cables or laying mines provided the best harbor defense means known to its members."

> strong current. At 10:45 A.M. shut down engine; temperature, eighty-eight degrees Fahrenheit. After the engine was shut down, we could hear the wind blowing past our pipes extending above the surface; we could also tell by the sound when any steamers were in the vicinity. We first allowed the boat to settle gradually to the bottom, with the tide running ebb; after a time the tide changed, and she would work slightly sideways; we admitted about four hundred pounds of water additional, but she still would move occasionally, so that a pendulum nine inches long would sway one-eighth of an inch (thwartship). At 12 o'clock (noon) the temperature was eighty-seven degrees Fahrenheit. There were no signs of carbonic acid gas at 2:45, although the engine had been closed down for three hours and no fresh air had been admitted during the time. Could hear the whistle of boats on the surface, and also their propellers when running close to the boat. At 3:30 the temperature had dropped to eighty-five degrees. At 3:45 found a little sign of carbonic acid gas, very slight, however, as a candle would burn fairly bright in the pits. Thought we could detect a smell of gasoline by comparing the fresh air, which came down the pipe (when the hand blower was turned). Storage lamps were burning during the five hours of submergence, while engine was not running. At 3:50 engine was again started, and went off nicely. Went into diving compartment and opened door; came out through air lock, and left pressure there; found the wheels had buried about ten inches or one foot, as the bottom had several inches of mud. We had 500 pounds of air in the tanks, and it ran the pressure down to 250 pounds to open the door in about thirty feet. The temperature fell in the diving compartment to eighty-two degrees after the compressed air was let in. Cooked clam fritters and coffee for supper. The spirits of the crew seemed to improve the longer we remained below; the time was spent in catching clams, singing, trying to waltz, playing cards, and writing letters to wives and sweethearts. Our only visitors during the day were a couple of black bass that came and looked in at the windows with a great deal of apparent interest. In future boats, it will be well to provide a smoking compartment, as most of the crew had smoking apparatus all ready as soon as we came up. Started pumps at 6:20, and arrived at the surface at 6:30. Down altogether ten hours and fifteen minutes. People on pilot boat *Calvert* thought we were all hands drowned.[21]

The most recent rebuff from the military authorities at Hampton Roads and the continued need for financial backing caused Lake to try his luck in New York. In November 1898 he set out on a voyage that for the second time in the *Argonaut*

[21] Logbook entry, Lake, "Voyage Under the Sea," 199–200.

nearly cost him his life. The trip began smoothly, "We chugged through the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal . . . as placidly as though we were sailing a paper boat in a bathtub." Once in open water off the coast of New Jersey, however, Lake and his crew ran into a storm in which two hundred vessels were lost.[22]

The *Argonaut* had little reserve buoyancy, as Lake pointed out, and its cigar shape told against it. "Inside the conning tower we were blinded by the masses of water that continually washed over the boat. . . . there was an excellent chance the *Argonaut* would be rolled over like a cork." But Lake knew about the age-old survival technique of mariners caught in a storm: he went outside and, using the deck wheel, steered the little vessel head-on into the waves. When they at last reached the safe haven of Sandy Hook, he said, "I was a block of ice."[23]

News of the *Argonaut*'s survival of the great storm reached France and resulted in what Lake called "one of the finest moments of my life"—cabled congratulations from Jules Verne himself, whose fictional *Nautilus* had originally inspired Lake.[24]

Weathering the storm made Lake realize the necessity for two major design changes in his experimental submersible. First, the stubby vessel had a tendency to veer off course in rough water and would have to be lengthened for better handling. This would also give it additional buoyancy. The other change would prove of great value in the designing of all future pre-nuclear powered submarines that like the *Argonaut* operated mostly on the surface. It needed a ship-shaped superstructure on top of the cigar-shaped pressure hull to increase buoyancy and help the boat rise to the seas like an ordinary vessel "instead of wallowing sullenly through them like a floating log."[25]

Accordingly, Lake took the *Argonaut* from Sandy Hook to the Robbins Shipbuilding Company in Brooklyn. There it was cut in half and lengthened by twenty feet and a sea-going superstructure mounted on its pressure hull. A more powerful gasoline engine was installed. Each wheel was now made three feet in diameter and could be housed in the keel when not lowered for travel on the bottom. Also, a "cushioning" bowsprit, made by running heavy wire from its tip to the keel, allowed the vessel with its slight negative buoyancy to climb or rise over obstacles encountered on the bottom.[26]

The rebuilt *Argonaut* entered a new phase of its career. Lake took it to nearby

[22] Lake, *Submarine*, 114. The storm lasted two days, November 26–27, 1898, and took hundreds of lives at sea. *Baltimore Sun*, November 28, 1898.

[23] Lake, *Submarine*, 115. The necessity for meeting storms head-on is vividly portrayed in Joseph Conrad, *Typhoon* (1903), and Herman Wouk, *The Caine Mutiny* (1951).

[24] Lake, *Submarine*, 117.

[25] Ibid., 116. A prime example of this seaworthy structure can be seen on the submarine *Torsk*, moored at Baltimore's inner harbor.

[26] Lake, *Submarine*, 123, 129.

Bridgeport, Connecticut, where he received a "tremendous reception—bands, schoolchildren marching and waving flags, flowers, speeches." After hosting a well-publicized submergence party for twenty-seven prominent guests, Lake settled down to the lucrative business of salvaging wrecks in Long Island Sound and was on his way to becoming a millionaire. Unlike other salvagers blindly dragging for wrecks, Lake wheeled over the bottom and in a short while located sixteen wrecks by peering out the *Argonaut*'s portholes.[27]

But such limited vision would not do for a submarine in time of war, he realized, along with other inventors working on submarines at the time. His rival Holland had equipped his *Plunger* with a "camera lucida," he recalled, a crude periscope that could reflect the seascape above on a white background below. Without formal training in optics, Lake experimented in hit-or-miss fashion with lenses and prisms enclosed in a tube until he stumbled on the right combination. With the help of a Johns Hopkins University professor of optics in Baltimore—who at first said it could not be done—and a German immigrant skilled in practical optics, he claimed to have produced the "first rough but workable periscope" and then turned it over to government scientists to perfect.[28]

Despite making good money in the salvaging business, the ambitious Lake still wanted to build a submarine for the U.S. Navy. By 1900 the proven practicality of the *Argonaut* had gained the attention of the navy's Board of Construction, which asked him to draw up new plans. He thereupon designed three types of submersibles: a midget boat to be carried aboard a warship, a boat to operate in coastal waters, and a long-range fleet boat for the high seas. But the Holland Company (now absorbed by the Electric Boat Company) lobbyists in Congress proved too powerful. In June 1900, Congress authorized the purchase of five Holland-type submarines, the type launched after the ill-fated *Plunger* and, as Lake himself admitted, "Improved beyond any question." Still, the Holland-type boat lacked bowplanes, making it difficult to control while under way submerged, with a tendency to "porpoise" when diving or surfacing.[29]

Lake's next submarine, the *Protector* (1902), had two torpedo tubes and used bowplanes for easy level-keel operation while the submarine was under way.[30] When the U.S. government would not buy his new boat, Lake sold five of them to Russia, then at war with Japan.[31] Ultimately, during World War I, his company would build submarines for the U.S. Navy but would always be overshadowed by

[27] Ibid., 125–26, 131, 136.
[28] Ibid., 139, 141–42, 146.
[29] Ibid., 150, 147, 42, 46.
[30] Ibid., 165–66. The photograph of the *Protector*, facing page 178, is captioned "the first submarine to navigate successfully on an even keel."
[31] Ibid., chapter 16.

the more powerful Electric Boat Company, which in time became the premier civilian contractor for the construction of U.S. Navy submarines.

Perhaps the last publicized visit Lake made to Baltimore was occasioned by the arrival there in 1916 of the German unarmed cargo-carrying submarine *Deutschland*, after it had evaded the British blockading fleet. According to his memoir, he and his lawyer boarded a motorboat in Baltimore in time to meet the submarine as it came up the Patapsco on July 10 toward its berth at Locust Point. Catching sight of its buoyant superstructure, he turned to his lawyer and said, "That's an infringement on my patents. I can prove it. Let's seize her."[32]

Years earlier he had shown the Germans his submersible designs, which they subsequently took over without payment. His present intentions to seize the vessel were deflected by a pleasant meeting with the *Deutschland*'s commander, Captain Paul Koenig, and agents for the North German Lloyd Line, who now proposed that he join them in constructing a fleet of cargo submarines.[33]

Lake allowed himself to be swept up in the warm welcome given to the *Deutschland*'s crew by the large German ethnic contingent in Baltimore's population. When asked to pose with Captain Koenig "on the site of the building from which Morse sent his first telegraph message to Washington, and nearby the dock from which my first *Argonaut* was launched," he professed himself "delighted."[34] Clearly, Simon Lake was not inclined to downplay his role in the history of American technology either.

The entry of America into the war in 1917 forestalled any construction of cargo-carrying submarines, but the Lake Torpedo Boat Company did build armed submarines for the United States government until 1923.[35] In the late 1920s, Lake pursued his longtime dream of building a submarine equipped with a toboggan or ski-like superstructure that could travel under the Arctic ice cap. He had first proposed the plan in 1898 to faculty at the Johns Hopkins University, and he then filed the patent on April 4 of the same year. The navy's submarine O-12, built by his own company in 1916 and now due to be scrapped, was duly modified and rechristened *Nautilus*, after the fictional submarine of his hero, Jules Verne.[36] The vessel set forth in early June 1931 but suffered an engine breakdown in the mid-Atlantic and had to be towed a thousand miles for repairs.[37] Ultimately, the *Nautilus*, newly crippled by the loss of its diving rudders, managed to poke its nose

[32] Ibid., 253. "I am the daddy of the *Deutschland*," he boasted.

[33] Michael Pohuski, "A U-Boat in Baltimore's Harbor: The *Deutschland*, 1916–1921," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87 (1992): 50–51.

[34] Lake, *Submarine*, 258 (photo faces page 254). Morse actually sent the first message from Washington to Mount Clare Station.

[35] Ibid., 275.

[36] Ibid., 287–89.

[37] "Wilkins Polar Ship Disabled and Tossing in Stormy Ocean," *Boston Herald*, June 15, 1931.

under the ice long enough for underwater photos to be taken by a Pathé news cameraman.[38] But the first successful voyage under the Arctic ice cap to the North Pole would take place in the summer of 1958 by the world's first nuclear-powered submarine, also named the *Nautilus*.[39]

Largely forgotten by the time of his death in 1945, Simon Lake had lived long enough to see the submarine become a decisive weapon of war, nothing like the utilitarian vessel he originally envisioned after reading *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*. The U.S. government had refused to take his unarmed *Argonaut* seriously. "It was the wheels," he said in his memoir, "the wheels that were laughed at then and are probably laughed at now."[40]

Nevertheless, he could take comfort in knowing that his *Argonaut*—first tested in the Patapsco River in 1897—proved his concept of level-keel submergence and the need for a seaworthy superstructure for surface travel. Its lengthened, seaworthy version had brought in enough money from salvage work for continued experiments, including the first workable periscope made of lenses and prisms enclosed in a tube and the bowplanes used on his next submarine, the *Protector*, to maintain an even keel while running submerged. All of these features would in time be adapted by the world's navies in building their submarines.

[38] For the full story of this ill-fated expedition, see Sir Hubert Wilkins, *Under the North Pole* (Boston: Brewer, Warren, and Putnam, 1931).
[39] Richard G. Hewlett and Francis Duncan, *Nuclear Navy, 1946–1962* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 370.
[40] Lake, *Submarine*, 95.

Book Reviews

Britain and America Go to War: The Impact of War and Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754–1815. By Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway. (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., 2005. 336 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $65.00.)

Warfare is central in the history of both Britain and America from the Seven Years' War to the War of 1812. The nine essays in this excellent book concentrate on the role of warfare in the formation of national identities within a broad Atlantic context. The essays fall into two kinds. Five essays deal with particular issues relating to the conduct of war by ordinary soldiers. Peter Way is interested in female experience in soldiering, Stephen Conway compares Irish and British volunteering during the American Revolution and Michael Bellesiles seeks to understand how the soldiers who fought in the little remembered War of 1812 experienced a "war without meaning or even usable rhetoric." On military leaders, Margaret Stead examines how the Howe brothers' American campaigns were seen in Britain in the late 1770s and C. J. Bartlett and Gene Smith look at the British naval campaign in the War of 1812.

The most interesting essays are the four that deal with the geopolitics of imperial conflict. Each demonstrates that eighteenth-century Britons had an ambivalent understanding of empire that was markedly different from their firm embrace of imperialism in the nineteenth century. Bob Harris shows that Briton's understanding of empire was uncertain at best, contradictory at worst and was derived from understandings of the threat that France posed to Britain. Not surprisingly, a people who had an imperfect understanding of how empire operated made serious mistakes when its attention was momentarily drawn to imperial affairs. P. J. Marshall shows, in an important revision of the impact of the Seven Years' War on the British imperial mind, that Britons did not need to adopt the disastrous policies of coercion that led to the American Revolution but could have adapted the very successful policies of William Pitt. Pitt recognised that Americans had the rights of Englishmen abroad and celebrated, rather than denigrated, American achievements. As Marshall notes, the British followed the policies towards the Americans that they had adopted in the first, disastrous, phase of the Seven Years' War rather than Pitt's admittedly opaque but significantly more sensible policies in the period when Britain triumphed decisively over their old enemies. That they did so shows the continuing limitations of British understanding of American affairs.

That stubborn insistence on adhering to mistaken policies continued into the

American Revolution. Julie Flavell shows, in a stimulating essay, that one of Britain's major mistakes was to adopt a hard-line policy towards New England, the region of America least integrated into the British Atlantic World, without isolating it from the rest of the colonies. As she argues, that policy had worked before, against the Highland Scots in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, and was to work again, as Gould shows, in the War of 1812. That other colonists would have left New England to its own devices if only it had been attacked in 1774–1776 is entirely plausible. That is what happened in the West Indies where planters sympathised with, but gave little material support to, their fellow colonists.

The real problem was that few British politicians took American pretensions seriously. As Gould insists, Britons persisted in seeing America as a place of chronic warfare and irregular violence. The only way to control it, they thought, was through superior force. These beliefs—founded in an assumption that America was distinct from Europe and thus was a place where European rules of diplomacy did not operate—were so well established that even the lessons of the American Revolution did not stop Britain from continuing its misplaced policies. What changed in the 1820s was European realization that the United States had made itself a western hemisphere power. Its rulers were people who "one could business with," as Margaret Thatcher declared of the last Soviet rulers. More importantly, Americans came to accept that Britain was less the enemy than the guarantor of American independence, especially against the expansionist French. The result of these accommodations was the Atlantic state system. The development of this system meant that a basis for peace between Britain and America outside of imperial subjugation was possible. Nevertheless, this happy state of affairs occurred as much by accident as by design. Europeans continued to think of America as a strange place where anything was possible. Gould thus supports the overall contention of this book that even if Britain did not acquire its empire in a "fit of absence of mind," "absence of mind" continued to define British imperialism throughout the long eighteenth century. Britons made the same mistakes over and over again, mainly because they could not recognise that Americans might have their own ideas about how their hemisphere might be governed. It ended in disaster once, with the loss of the thirteen colonies. That it did not lead to more disaster should become a focus of new works on imperialism in the Atlantic.

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Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World. Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf, eds. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. 389 pages. Notes, tables, index. Cloth, $49.95.)

Transatlantic and global perspectives have especially reinvigorated the study

of colonial and revolutionary America, spawning a kind of rebirth of American exceptionalism couched in the broader framework of the country's position in the eighteenth century imperial grid. There was a time when historians of the "imperial school" (such as Lawrence Henry Gipson) were roundly criticized for their overemphasis on imperial policy, trade, and administration at the expense of studying "who shall rule at home" in the colonies. The burgeoning field of Atlantic studies, inspired by Bernard Bailyn's work in the Harvard University's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, recasts that older outlook. It views the great ocean and its rim as the intersection of cultures, empires, races, economies, and societies where, the editors argue, the American Revolution was a "transnational" event and the Atlantic was considered "not as inherently imperial space but as a region that could be organized as a system of independent states, an international regime defined by free trade and the rule of law" (14–15).

The colonies emerged from the Seven Years War in 1763 with a promising future at the center of a growing British empire only to have the controversy over taxation and parliamentary authority force a rethinking of their place in the imperial system. The result, the editors argue, was a reconceptualized American state system and new relations with the changing Atlantic world. Internally, the American states renegotiated their interstate relations, restructured their laws, and struggled with a new democratic politics.

Largely addressing a specialist audience, the book treats these grand themes unevenly—perhaps nine of its fifteen essays directly involve the dynamics of empire, the Atlantic world, and the American scene, while the rest leave their development to the reader's inference. In the book's first section, "Reconstituting the Empire," Ellen Holmes Pearson finds a distinctive American vision of English common law in American jurists' incorporation of "choice and consent" into their reconfiguration of that quintessentially English legal tradition. Don Higginbotham places American state formation squarely within the European military tradition of state-building as an artifact of war. David Hendrickson asserts that the first American Union had more of an international character (as a Congress of states) than a national one (which came later under very different circumstances). Eliga H. Gould sees the British decision to resist colonial independence as an act of war based on a weary British public's desire for peace in its colonies. Richard Alan Ryerson portrays John Adams as "a monarchist in his thinking about executive power and a republican in his thinking about the whole structure purpose of government" (92).

The second and largest section, on "Society, Politics, and Culture in the New Nation," contains a variety of essays that too often do not reflect on how those forces were related to a changed Atlantic or imperial context. Mary Schweitzer's informative study of the sectionalization of politics in the Great Valley of the Appalachians devolves into a comparative study of Pennsylvania and Virginia

politics, leaving us to wonder how political life in other parts of a region that stretched from New York to North Carolina might have been affected. Students of Maryland history will find Steven Sarson's profile of Chesapeake society after the Revolution of particular interest, but may wonder why he finds so little socioeconomic change in a region so heavily dependent on exports to newly-opened foreign markets. Melvin Yazawa outlines the familiar politics of extortion by which slaveholders managed to maintain a Union by threatening to destroy it, while Robert Calhoon explains the way that Protestant denominations became essential to the project of regime-building in the aftermath of the disestablishment of the church. Maurice Bric demonstrates that new Irish immigrant societies energized by America's successful experiment challenged the Federalist hegemony of Philadelphia and sparked a great debate on American identity. In a fascinating essay, Marc J. Harris connects the concept of civil society to the American rage for voluntary associations, which by the late 1840s had developed distinctively sectional methods of legitimizing their activites and claiming a share of public space.

The final section pulls some of the volume's themes back to the foreground. Keith Mason reveals startling and intriguing details about the impact of the Loyalist diaspora on the British Empire. James Sidbury explains how, in the service of abolition, a new African identity, and their own gain, the authors of early slave narratives exploited the very market forces that had brutalized them. The Age of Revolution, Edward L. Cox writes, caused a weakening of slavery and a slight amelioration of slaves' conditions in the British Caribbean while Trevor Burnard adds that the Revolution reinforced the British commitment to spreading liberty and to recognizing the empire's racial diversity just as it strengthened slavery and indentured servitude in the United States.

A short review cannot do full justice to the range of subjects covered in a book like this. At the same time that the book promises to challenge that old chestnut of American "exceptionalism" many of its essays describe a very unique place whereby "states" did matter, nationalism was weak and embryonic, and the transformation of regions could be traced to an innovative blending of ideas and interests at the American founding.

Peter Knupfer
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Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture. Edited by Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. 340 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth $59.95. Paper $19.95.)

In *Religion in the American South*, editors Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews have assembled impressive articles spanning the diverse sweep of south-

ern religion across time, denomination, and interpretive framework. Taken together the ten essays, with fine bibliographies, do not break new ground as much as they sum up the current state of the field of southern religious history and chart the work yet to be done. It is a credit to the authors and editors that throughout the collection they avoid overstating the authority of their conclusions and instead highlight the ambiguous and often incomplete evidentiary record and the necessarily tangled interpretative intersection of religion, culture, and history—also acknowledging the contested meaning of "Southern." The collection, however, has a definitive theme tied to the trends of recent scholarship. The authors emphasize the diversity of the South and of the region's religious impulse. Catholics, Jews, Pentecostals, women, and religious leaders who have crossed racial and regional boundaries figure heavily in the collection, as they have in the last fifteen years of scholarship that the book admirably serves to summarize. The volume stands as a corrective to facile discussions of the monolithic "Bible Belt" South dominated by white evangelicals.

The first essay, by Jon F. Sensbach, sets the tone for the nine that follow with an excellent examination of the eighteenth-century "pre-Bible Belt South" (8). The evangelical era, from the Cane Ridge revival in 1801 through the end of the Civil War Era in 1877, has received monumental historical attention by a generation of scholars of religion who are generously acknowledged in nearly every essay. Chief among them: John Boles, Donald Mathews, Samuel Hill, Eugene Genovese, Christine Heyrman, Rhys Isaac, Nathan Hatch, and Albert Raboteau. Sensbach does not trivialize this fine tradition of scholarship but instead looks to the eighteenth century on its own terms—in its own moment, and not as a prelude to coming evangelical dominance. Sensbach highlights themes that reappear in later essays that largely assume the readers familiarity with the well-tilled subject of evangelical religion, Catholic, African, gendered, "Transatlantic" immigrant, and Native faith traditions that encountered and shaped each other in a fluid theological and institutional setting.

Beth Shweiger's and Emily Bingham's essays cover the issues of the antebellum era by complicating cherished views of the evangelical South. Schweiger's essay is the most theoretical in the collection and raises thought-piece questions about the meanings of both "southern" and "revivalism." It makes a carefully framed contribution by focusing on the bureaucratic and organizational functions of southern revivals, revealing that "Old Time southern revivals were never very old-time at all"(34). Schweiger also undermines easy characterizations of the South as the national "other" by suggesting that historians write about the modernizing effects of northern revivals in the nineteenth century but then abandon such analysis when looking at Dixie. On the opposite side of the spectrum from Schweiger's broad theory, Bingham employs an up-close analysis of a single life and collection of letters. Rachel Mordecai Lazarus (1788–1838) embodies the diversity in region

and religion that is a theme of this collection. She is female, from a northern Jewish family that migrated to the South, becoming urban slaveholders. Rachel converted to Christianity in the South (85). Her fascinating life story challenges notions of regional and religious identity. Bingham's essay is sensitively written, which it has to be given contemporary sensibilities about assimilation and controversies about Bible-Belt efforts to convert Jews.

The powerful essay by Kurt Berends also connects with current controversies and is well placed after the opening articles as a reminder of the power of the Bible Belt's dominant white religion. Berends explores the public use of religion in the Confederacy and discusses how the myth of the Confederacy itself became a religious force. He makes expert use of interpretative trends in the study of culture and ideology that have expanded the meaning of "religious" by incorporating it into cultural and ideological systems. This essay not only argues for the motive force of southern religion during the war as the touchstone of combat motivation, political unity—and indeed "holy war" (106) and the equating of salvation with dying for the Confederate cause, but he also demands that scholars see that the connection of religion to the Confederacy is an understudied topic. Unlikely as it is that there is an understudied Civil War topic, Berends makes a compelling case that the Civil War was a religious event profoundly altering the very nature of southern religion in a way that "has yet to be fully understood" (115). Given contemporary religious and political developments in the nation and the world, the challenge by Berends for greater scholarship on the legacy of the southern "holy war" will certainly be taken up.

Donald Mathews addresses lynching and the era of the "nadir of race relations" (1888–1925). He ties the voluminous scholarship on this subject of the last ten years to religion. The article comes from a book project, and on the basis of this essay the profession can look forward to the full study. Like Berends, Mathews wisely expands the meaning of religion to see "segregation *as* religion" (155). Employing Clifford Geertz's definition of religion as a cultural system, Mathews convincingly argues that racial segregation functioned as a primal font of emotions and motivations for southern whites and that lynchings themselves resembled revivals and often shared their symbols, forms, morals, and theology. The whites who formed lynching audiences were generally the revival church members of a locale. Following the theme of many "Souths" in this collection, Mathews spends equal time on the black churches' moral and theological views of lynchings, this constituting the most original part of his contribution.

Three essays draw attention to the force of Pentecostalism in the same general era Mathews studies. The inclusion of so many essays on the subject does follow the pattern of scholarship in recent years, as the Turn of the Century South and the Pentecostal religious movement flowered as fields of southern scholarship. Daniel Woods offers an excellent introduction to early Pentecostalism and its

varieties of prayer experience, arguing that Pentecostalism resembled a revitalization movement close to the traditions of regional evangelicalism, rather than a new "outsider" religion. Woods expertly organizes and summarizes the great variety of early Pentecostal forms of conversation with God—the spirit of which is well captured in the article's title taken from Pentecostal sources, "The Royal Telephone." Woods then links these ecstatic individual experiences of the voice and presence of God to the conversion and prayer experiences of evangelicals. Anthea Butler and Jerma Jackson look at African-American Pentecostal and Holiness culture. Both emphasize how, through remarkable women, southern African-American religious culture became national. Butler examines "church mothers'" roles in Pentecostalism, especially in the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). She describes how the Great Migration brought "Southernisms" to the North, where several versions of the church flourished. A similar pattern emerges in Jackson's history of Sister Rosetta Tharpe, a pioneer of Gospel music, with the influence of both her use of "Blues picking" guitar style and Pentecostal church singing. Tharpe took southern Pentecostal Gospel music national, but a developing commercialization of Gospel music likewise became "a vehicle for disseminating national culture in the South" (239). Both essays remind historians of how race and gender combined in the lives of women who connected and blurred southern and national religion and culture—an example of the increased complexity and diversity the term "southern" that this collection emphasizes in nearly every essay.

The final two essays are well placed, as they are broad historiographical summaries of the entire sweep of southern history and religion. Lynn Lyerly offers a smorgasbord of new studies of gender and religion in all eras of southern history. Paul Harvey follows the complex theme of race and religion through racism, racial interchanges and inter-racialism, especially emphasizing the Civil Rights Era and Pentecostalism on the last theme. Both Harvey and Lyerly begin and end their essays with tantalizingly under-developed arguments tied to the era from 1965–2006, which has seen remarkable historical developments that have yet to be explored in this volume and others. For example, Lylerly draws the reader's attention to the mystery of how southern Christian women both resisted and engaged with feminism (266). Likewise, Harvey ends with the monumental insight that white racism has failed in southern churches, to be largely replaced by a new form of emphasis on patriarchal power and gender divisions. Harvey closes with a story of how "ultimate"—moral and religious —resistance to desegregation failed in white churches in the 1960s and has been followed since 1990 by white churches' repudiations of their own racist traditions and their active attempts to embrace of African American co-religionists. The ironies and surprises of southern religious history never cease! The one weakness of this fine volume is also one of its main points: more work needs to be done in this exciting and increasingly relevant field. Religion in the American South could have included an essay on religion in

the Post–Civil Rights South. As religion in the early Twentieth Century South has recently received the brilliant attention given to antebellum religion by an earlier generation of scholars, the next step is to create the narrative and interpretations of the post-Civil Rights religious South—whatever that "South" may be. These outstanding historians both point the way and show how much has been accomplished.

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Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861–1864. By Earl J. Hess. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 447 pages. Appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth $45.00.

In this detailed work, Earl J. Hess offers readers an excellent treatment of an important but often underappreciated part of many major Civil War battles, the construction and use of field fortifications. Citing campaigns in the war's eastern theater, the book sheds new light on the role that fortifications played in the success or failure of Civil War field armies. In taking on this topic, Hess also has a stated goal of advancing "the study of fortifications to a new level of understanding by incorporating the engineering aspects into the operational perspective" (xiii).

Arranged chronologically in thirteen concise chapters, the book begins with background material including information on the creation of the U.S. Corps of Engineers in the eighteenth century, the establishment of the U.S. Military Academy in 1802 with a curriculum that heavily emphasized engineering, and the opinions of various early military theorists on the role of fortifications. Hess also points out that by the time the Civil War was being fought, Confederate engineers were every bit as competent as those who toiled for the Federal cause. This despite the fact that some Confederate leaders, including Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, believed at times that northern engineers were superior. The book moves on to show that although field fortifications were in extensive use during the war's latter stages, commanders on both sides "relied on breastworks, earthworks, or preexisting features on the battlefield during almost every significant engagement from 1861 through 1864" (308). Hess begins in Virginia at Big Bethel and First Manassas and goes on to analyze the nature and role of field fortifications in many of the major conflicts in the East, including action taking place in Maryland. The book points out that while fortifications were certainly used to strengthen defensive positions, commanders did not necessarily have to give up the offensive when they ordered their men to dig in. If those issuing the orders made effective use of their fieldworks, the author argues, they could actually add offensive power to their armies. Hess also discounts the traditional view that the widespread use of fortifications, particularly in 1864 and 1865, was primarily a function of the increased use of the rifle musket. Instead, he identifies key factors driving the use of

fortifications throughout the war, including the prolonged physical closeness of the opposing armies, the general instinctive need by the men in the armies to seek a safe haven on the battlefield, and the trauma of battle itself.

One of the great strengths of the author's work lies in his research. Hess employs an exhaustive list of primary sources including diaries, letters, and official reports along with many secondary sources and archaeological studies to tell his stories and draw his conclusions. The fact that the author by his own count visited more than three hundred Civil War sites in the course of his research obviously enhanced the process. Hess also includes at the end of his study an informative glossary that defines many relevant yet uncommon terms such as "counterscarp," "flying sap," "mantlet" and others with which the average reader might not be familiar.

This work accomplishes the author's stated goals and represents a significant contribution to the literature on Civil War battles. Amid the rattle of sabres and the smoke of the battlefield the technical aspects and importance of field fortification often have been obscured, although they are obviously a significant part of many military engagements. Hess makes sure that his readers realize the importance of the subject, and the fact that "trenches, parapets, and forts were features on the landscape of war just as were trees, hills, and ridges" (xiv). Few if any modern authors have dedicated the time and energy to the study of Civil War fortifications in the way that Hess has here. This work is the first of a proposed trilogy on the subject, and if the next two books equal the first in scope and content, those with an interest in the history of the Civil War should eagerly anticipate them.

Ben Wynne
Gainesville State College

A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861–1868. By Anne Sarah Rubin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 336 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $34.95.)

Over a century after the fall of the Confederate nation, the Lost Cause remains strong and scholars continue to examine white Southerners' long-standing commitment to the Old South, the Confederacy, and their ideological underpinnings. Building upon the ever-growing literature on nationalism, gender, the homefront, Reconstruction, and the Lost Cause, historian Anne Sarah Rubin deftly explores the creation of a Confederate culture that had its beginnings before 1861 and that continued long after the death of the political nation. The Confederacy, Rubin persuasively argues, was more than a political entity; it was also an identity centered on a sense of difference, white supremacy, "female virtue, male honor, and God's favor" as "parts of the whole" (64). *A Shattered Nation* "explores the myriad strands of ideology and identity that made up the Confed-

eracy and shows the complexity and texture of people's attachment to their nation as an ideal, a state, and a memory"(1).

Rubin traces Confederate nationalism's quick coalescence after secession, noting, as have others, that white Southerners saw themselves as heirs to the American Revolution and culturally different from Northerners and African American slaves. In addition, to build a Confederate identity, white Southerners used gendered language, religion, and appeals to honor. Rubin takes issue with scholars who have argued against a coherent Confederate nationalism as well as those who claim that Southerners could not sustain any loyalty to their nation: "If Confederate nationalism was too weak to exert a hold over its people, they would not have worried so much about remaining true to their new nation and their new identities"(50). In addition, Rubin argues that in the occupied and post-war South, individual decisions to take the oath of loyalty to the United States government often reflected more a dedication to self-preservation than a love or loyalty to the Union. Similarly, she interprets the behaviour of post-war white Southerners who cooperated with Northerners as demonstrating their willingness to manipulate Northerners to get what they wanted, including economic assistance to rebuild, a voice in national politics, and local control. White Southerners, Rubin asserts, wanted to "be both of and apart from the American whole" as it suited their needs (189). In the end, many white Southerners learned to appear accommodating in public, while privately harbouring resentment and defiance against Northerners. Defeat for them was not surrender of spirit or rejection of identity, but rather the result of war weariness and overpowering enemy forces. The death of the Confederate state, Rubin persuasively demonstrates, in no way indicated the death of the South's national identity.

In examining a specifically Confederate identity, Rubin uses an incredible array of white Southerners' published and personal writings. These sources allowed and reflected the ability of Confederates to forge and reinforce a national identity as they created new rituals and histories for themselves. In these written missives Rubin finds many of the defining characteristics of white Southern identity, including a dedication to white supremacy and a desire for political and social separation from the North. In particular, Southerners focused on glorifying suffering, sacrifice, patriotism, duty, and honour. They also praised Southern women and called for an independent Southern intellectual canon that stressed Southern points of views, victories, and histories. In these sources, Rubin finds that white Southerners' perceptions of events governed their wartime behaviour. Many remained optimistic and throughout the war, interpreting defeats as part of God's plan for the nation and expressing confidence in their ultimate triumph. Although many modern scholars have interpreted Gettysburg as the point of no return in the fall of the Confederacy, Rubin shows that Southerners gave it no such significance.

Although her sources, like those used in most examinations of Confederate identity and nationalism favour the literate elite, Rubin's work promises to be a landmark study for years to come. In sophisticated and well-written prose, she offers a multifaceted interpretation that will challenge scholars of the American South and the Civil War.

Lisa Tendrich Frank
Florida Atlantic University

Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity. By Amy G. Richter. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 285 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $49.95. Paper, $19.95.)

Amy Richter's *Home on the Rails*, based on her NYU dissertation, adds a much-needed dimension of gender analysis to the stereotypically male world of railroads and railroad historiography. Richter uses the literature, jokes, songs, advertisements, and lawsuits of Victorian popular culture to describe how Americans reconciled changing notions of gender with the possibilities and realities of train travel. In fact, much of what Victorians had to say about trains was really about how men should relate in public. As Richter writes, "Talking about women and the railroad was, and is, a way to talk about larger cultural changes" (2). The neat ideology of "separate spheres"—men engaged with commerce and technology in the outside world; women engaged with family and emotion in the home—was belied by new situations engendered by rail travel. The messy and dynamic world of trains and rail travel forced men and women to redefine their ideas about gender, often in conjunction with competing beliefs and fears about race and class identity.

Richter begins her story around mid-century, when train travel first became common. (A certain amount of chronological disorder, with the story jumping from decade to decade, is one of the book's few, small flaws.) The open compartments of early trains were seen as a sort of "theatre of life" where riders could observe, interact with, and be annoyed by people of very different classes and ethnicities. One never knew who one's seatmate might be. For women, this presented the possibility of instructive, amusing, or sometimes dangerous contact with people outside of their ordinary, protected home "sphere." As the century wore on, advertisers and humorists liked to contradict the fragile, whimsical nature of women with the rational, masculine nature of the train. The reality, however, was that women, ostensibly "private" creatures, rode the very public railroads in increasing numbers in the later nineteenth century. Women's supposed need for the cocooned trappings of a private sphere led railroads to promote their luxurious accommodations, polite porters, and gentlemanly conductors, as well as to

institutionalize special treatment for women (in the form of women's cars). But these assumptions led to conflicts and contradictions. Women sometimes responded to men's gallantry with unfeminine rudeness or presumption. Men, resentful of the privileges accorded to ungrateful women, demanded access to private, comfortable "women's cars." And bold, intrepid women travellers (such as Nellie Bly) became popular literary symbols, representing a new (though still rather limited) measure of freedom for women. Further, the commodification of comfort in railroad travel exposed fault lines of race and class. Gallant treatment and luxurious amenities were only available to white women who could afford to pay; separate levels of accommodations crippled the professed American belief that "ladies" were equally entitled to deference regardless of race or class. African-Americans, especially in the South, were usually barred from Pullman cars and from the private women's cars, and relegated to lower-class cars where their presence would not offend whites.

Richter's work is gracefully written, easy to read, and engaging. Most importantly, her work is part of a new re-evaluation of large technological systems among younger scholars: a re-evaluation that takes gender, race, and class into account. Like the best of these new studies, Richter's work deepens our understanding both of the technological system at hand, and of the complicated ways in which gender ideologies operate in a culture. Though her primary focus is on women, Richter understands that men's and women's identities were constructed in tandem with each other and she pays attention to the railroad's effects on ideas about masculinity as well. Richter's most astute point is that, although the train was seen as a patently male object (and railroad men in particular were seen as "über-males" performing heavy, dangerous work on sophisticated machinery), the railroad as a *network* was a much more ambiguously gendered space, one that might be defined by female "influence" and mores. This opens a path for other scholars to explore the complicated gendering of other, seemingly male spaces. Although the book does not reference Maryland history in particular, it is accessible and valuable to all students of nineteenth-century America.

Katherine Leonard Turner
University of Delaware

You Call This an Election? America's Peculiar Democracy. By Steven E. Schier. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003. 176 pages. Notes, references, index. Cloth, $29.95.)

The 2000 election forced many Americans, if only temporarily, to reflect on the health of our American electoral system. Steven Schier has fortunately turned his own reflections into a brief yet sophisticated and informative analysis of American elections. Indeed, Schier introduces his book with the 2000 election and its re-

markable aftermath, noting the numerous problems and issues that were highlighted in Florida and elsewhere. The book then proceeds to outline and explain the notable characteristics of our American electoral system, stressing that it matters greatly which electoral rules we employ. Schier makes clear that he finds our electoral system wanting in important respects. Schier next compares the American system with those of other democracies, emphasizing that most other countries organize their elections differently, with different outcomes. Schier does a fine job of showing the variety of electoral models and is careful to note the advantages and disadvantages of each system.

Having set the broader context, Schier then looks more carefully at issues such as voter turnout, the rise of initiative and referendum politics, and select election "controversies" from recent years. Schier's final chapter outlines his views of reform and provides a blueprint for a system that "creates more stability, accountability, turnout, and deliberation" (127). He advocates, among other things, reform of voting registration and ballot procedures, the strengthening of political parties, and the introduction of instant runoff voting. As Schier puts it, "Americans need to rediscover a truth most long-established constitutional democracies never forgot: simple ballots and party-based elections facilitate popular control of government" (144). Schier concludes with an "alternative narrative" of the 2000 election—replaying the election with some of his reforms in place—and finds Al Gore winning Florida rather comfortably. He does not say explicitly whether a Gore (instead of Bush) presidency would have been desirable, but, rather, that it would have been measurably different, emphasizing the significant implications of his reforms.

There is much to recommend about this book. It is well-conceived and well-organized. Schier deftly considers a vast range of information and admirably presents it in an accessible yet nuanced and textured form. Although he provides a blueprint for reform that has its own attractiveness, he just as importantly gives us context and perspective so that we can draw our own conclusions and plans for reform. The chapter which compares the U.S. system to those of other democracies is of particular value on this front. It is stunning how few Americans—scholars included—recognize that there are alternatives to our electoral system.

But Schier is by no means dogmatic. Although advocating reform, he does so in a moderate and sober, rather than zealous, manner. In fact, what is probably most refreshing about this book is its realism. Not only are his reforms themselves tempered and reasonable, but such is his overall approach and sentiment. For instance, about his own experiences in the ballot booth in 2000, Schier candidly states that "we have created one of the most baroque electoral systems in the world, making it difficult even for career students of politics, like me, to hold certain officials accountable" (31). One is reminded of American intellectual Walter Lippmann's seminal book, *Public Opinion*, originally published in 1922. Lippmann

assailed the concept of the "omnicompetent citizen," a view of the democratic citizen that expected far too much of the average person, especially in the modernizing world of the 1920s. Despite Lippmann's devastating analysis, Schier and others are still today fighting the battle against modern day purveyors of the "omnicompetent citizen," such as Benjamin Barber (in his *Strong Democracy*). Schier, to his credit, though, avoids the elitist and cynical conclusions that often accompany the Lippmann position, opting instead for reforms that, while tempered with realism, act to increase the participation of citizens.

One of the most interesting reforms Schier advocates, instant runoff voting, might be developed more fully and one wonders why this reform is not included in Schier's "alternative narrative" of the 2000 election. Instant runoff voting allows voters to rank candidates for an office. If no candidate receives a majority, the last-place candidate is eliminated, with his or her votes redistributed to supporters' next-ranked choices. This process continues until one candidate receives a majority vote. This is an important reform that likely would have far-reaching affects on our politics, the 2000 election being a case in point. Ralph Nader's voters, having the opportunity to rank candidates and thus voting in overwhelming numbers for Gore as their second choice, would not have been spoilers in Florida. With Nader's elimination and his votes redistributed, Al Gore would have captured tens of thousands of votes in Florida, thus winning the state and the presidency. Little speculation is needed here to see the critical importance of electoral rules.

Although our national elections since 2000 have been comparatively uneventful, the fundamental issues and problems that Schier identifies remain. And with congressional elections only months away—and another presidential cycle already beginning—it will be well to keep in mind Schier's *You Call This an Election?* It is highly recommended reading for students of politics and American history and also for the informed American citizen. Schier's knowledge of American elections is impressive, the book is tightly organized, and the analysis is considered and judicious, a strong combination and a notable achievement.

Michael Korzi
Towson University

Books in Brief

Motion Picture Exhibition in Baltimore: An Illustrated History and Directory of Theaters, 1895–2004 is Robert K. Headley's newest contribution to the history of American theater culture. This comprehensive look at the movie houses of Baltimore spans the years of the nickelodeons of the early twentieth century, the glamorous palaces of the 1920s, and the multi-screen mega houses of today. Headley's study opens with a narrative history of the motion picture exhibition business and follows with a detailed list of the city's theaters. Other details include street addresses of the movie houses, comments on theater architecture, and a bibliography of select source material. The author lectures locally on theater history and serves as consultant on documentaries and theater restoration projects.

McFarland, www.mcfarlandpub.com, $55.00, cloth

Historic London Town, Maryland, Donna Valley Russell. This account of the first century of one town in Cecil Calvert's wilderness colony updates its history with archaeological findings, biographical sketches, and numerous illustrations, all in celebration of the town's rebirth as part of the Lost Towns Project. The book is available from Historic London Town and Gardens, 839 Londontown Road, Edgewater, MD 21037. Proceeds benefit the restoration of the site.

Historic London Town, $25.00, paper

Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South, the latest volume in the New Currents in the History of Southern Economy and Society series, is a collection of essays through which editors Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie present comparative and transatlantic perspectives on the complex economy of the American South. Contributing authors include Stanley L. Engerman, Emma Hart, Brian Schoen, Shearer Davis Bowman, Susanna Delfino, John Majewski and Viken Tchakerian, David L. Carlton and Peter Coclanis, Beth English, and Erin Elizabeth Clune.

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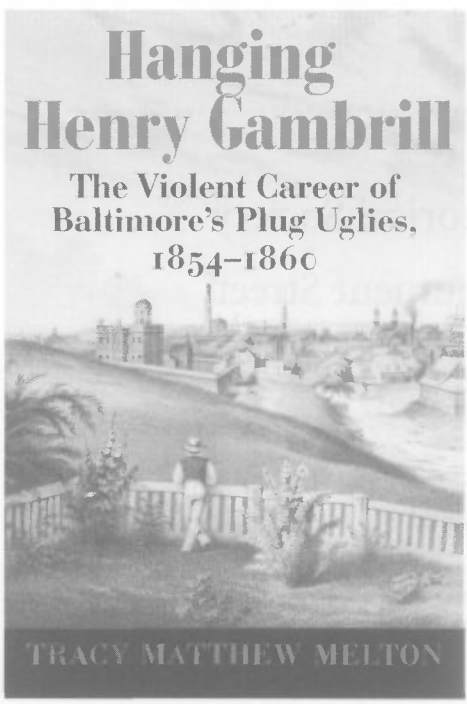

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